

MODERN PERSIAN POETRY

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Sukhanvarān-i Īrān dar 'Aṣṭ-i Ḥāẓir

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FOREWORD

Mr. Mohammad Ishaque, who has compiled an anthology of the poets of modern Iran in two volumes with sound critical taste and judgment, has chosen "Modern Persian Poetry" as the subject of his thesis for the London doctorate. Surely, no happier theme could have been selected, and no person could be better qualified to write on it than Mr. Ishaque who has made a careful and most erudite study of the subject. For those of us Indians who have studied Persian, it possesses a special interest. We are familiar with the old classics such as Saadi, Hafiz, Firdausi, Jami and Rumi, to say nothing of Omar Khayyam who has attained world fame through several English translations, but modern Persian poetry is almost a closed book to us. Few of us know anything about the considerable mass of poetical literature that has sprung up in Persia during the past fifty years. Mr. Ishaque's dissertation is therefore all the more welcome as it deals critically and in detail with the whole of this modern literature. It indeed reveals to us quite a new world on discovering which one has the same feelings as Keats had on reading Homer in Chapman's translation which he likens to those of Pizarro "gazing silent on a peak in Darien".

The poetry of a nation is the reflex of its life and thought. It clearly reflects its hopes and aspirations as well as its trials and tribulations. Often it is profoundly influenced by external events which affect the world at large no less than by great popular movements from within. Popular feelings often find expression in popular songs. Thus, among the various causes that Mr. Ishaque believes to have influenced modern Persian poetry he mentions such events as the last World War, the Russo-Japanese War and the revolutionary movement initiated in the closing years of the last century by men of intellect like Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani.

During the period that followed the great classics, Persian poetry, like Urdu poetry which imitated it, had fallen into decadence and had become confined to conventional subjects and to stereotyped forms of expression. There was, for instance, the eternal rose and the nightingale and the beauty (always very conventional) of the beloved. But in the renaissance brought about by the modern liberal movement in Iran, a breach was made with the past. Many old customs and traditions were given up, whilst in literature the conventional poetry of an older generation gradually gave place to verse that was both more free and more virile, although the rules of prosody itself did not undergo any marked change.

Conservatism in literature is perhaps more obstinate than in other things. People feel a natural

diffidence in making a bold deviation from approved and accepted forms. There is no sudden revolution here as there is in politics. It therefore took nearly fifty years for the transition to be effected from the old school of Persian poetry to the new when at last the Persian Muse burst the bonds forged for her by convention. In Urdu literature a similar change from the past is represented by such poets as Hali, Akbar and Iqbal. Mr. Ishaque has carefully traced this change in the poets of the Persian Renaissance. Commencing from those who retained both the conventional subjects and the old forms, he goes on to those who chose wider and more liberal themes but adhered to the old forms, and finally proceeds to mention those who boldly changed both form and matter. This transition he divides into three distinct periods. Incidentally he goes into numerous other details such as the distribution of these poets among the several provinces of Iran, the new metrical experiments made by some of them, the borrowing of new words and expressions from various foreign languages—chiefly French and English, and the coining of others. In a brief foreword like this one can do no more than allude to these details which are nevertheless full of interest and cover not an inconsiderable portion of the thesis.

The broad question is this: What is the value of these poems which so faithfully reflect the national struggles, the aims and aspirations, of a whole people, when regarded, not as national or patriotic

lore but on their own merit as pieces of literature? Has this renaissance thrown up some giant like Homer or Shakespeare. Dante or Milton or some Valmiki or Firdausi or Khayyam who, transcending the bounds of nationality and of time, has written, not for a particular country or period but for all time and for all nations, one who has, in short, to give a message to the whole of humanity?

I doubt if there is a genius so great as that among these modern poets of Iran. But it is yet too early to pass any verdict. Time will sift the bullion from the dross and preserve what is of permanent value; for what is ephemeral in literature disappears in the course of time and is consigned to oblivion, while humanity with its instinct of self-preservation retains and cherishes what is best. This is because nations survive by their contribution to world culture rather than by brute conquest. A people sees unerringly what is best and most worth preserving in its poetry and art and clings to it for its own preservation. If there is nothing of outstanding merit in all this modern Persian poetry, there is nevertheless much in it that is excellent, and the author of the thesis is right in saying that many of the poets mentioned by him will find a permanent place in Persian literature. Prominent among them are some women who have been the moving spirits of the social no less than the literary revolution.

For the rest, Persian is a beautiful language; its

musical cadences, its all-embracing vocabulary, its terse and clear expression, are qualities which charm the reader; added to all this is the sparkling wit for which the Persians are justly noted. These qualities which constitute the innate genius of the language, are present in abundant measure in the modern poetical literature under review as will be seen from the verses quoted by Mr. Ishaque, and more especially from those he has collected in his admirable Anthology.

To sum up, this thesis which has been offered by Mr. Ishaque and approved for his doctorate, is a conscientious and laborious piece of work which shows painstaking research as well as great erudition. It forms a valuable contribution to the contemporary criticism and should be welcomed by all lovers of literature.

Hyderabad,

Deccan.

15th July, 1943.

PREFACE

THE present work is substantially my Doctorate thesis submitted to the University of London. It presents a critical account of the poets and poetry of modern Īrān. In the wake of the Constitutional-movement in Īrān, Persian poetry suffered a considerable change. If the classical poetry is theoretical in meaning and expression, the modern poetry is eminently practical: a new consciousness and a new outlook characterize it.

In order to gather a first-hand knowledge, I travelled twice to Īrān, for the first time in 1930 and subsequently in 1934. During the eight months I spent in the country, I visited important cities and centres of learning and had long talks with the poets and poetesses. After returning to India I published the materials collected in Īrān in two volumes¹ of an anthology entitled *Sukhanvarān-i Īrān dar 'Aṣr-i Hāẓir*, both of which were favourably reviewed in Great Britain², France, Germany, America, Īrān and India.

A general survey with a critical estimate of the

¹ Vol. I (1933), pp. 7+455+18; Vol. II (1937), pp. 23+482+7.

² Prof. V. Minorsky in the *BSOS*, VIII, I, 1935, pp. 254-55 and IX, I, 1937, pp. 256-57 and Prof. R. A. Nicholson in the *JRAS*, 1935, pt. ii, p. 395 and 1939, pt. iii, p. 439.

position of modern Persian poetry as attempted in the following pages was a desideratum, and thus viewed, the present work may justly be regarded as a critical supplement to the anthology containing the data on which this dissertation is mainly based.

In 1934 I had the privilege of meeting Prof. V. Minorsky at the celebration of Firdausi Millemary held at Tīhrān and Tūs. It was under his guidance that I was able to present this thesis.

The present work comprises seven chapters. It deals with the preparatory period of modern Persian poetry and then introduces the poets chronologically, with their individual characteristics. The themes and certain general problems are studied, such as the development of the language, metres and verse-forms. The changes are considered in their double aspect, i.e., both as an independent indigenous development and as a result of external influences. The concluding chapter contains certain general observations considered relevant to the work as a whole.

It may be remarked that Persian poetry after Jāmī degenerated into an art of versification. The poets depended too much on early patterns and did not go beyond the conventional forms of the *qaṣīda*, *ghazal* and *maṣnavī*, with their respective themes and imagery. Muḥtaṣham of Kāshān developed the *marṣīya* or composition of threnodies, while Dāvarī Qā'ānī and Yaghmā revived some older forms of poetry, such as the *mussammaṭ*, *tarjī-band* and

the University as a teacher in the Department of Arabic and Persian, fostered my literary ambition.

In the academic circle, amongst my distinguished senior colleagues, I am much indebted to Prof. B. M. Barua not only for the inspiration for arduous researches in the field of Islāmic culture as a whole, but also for his helpful and constructive criticisms.

I cannot forget the many friendly acts and words of encouragement from such great lovers of Islāmic learning as the late Sir Denison and Lady Ross, Prof. J. R. Firth, Dr. and Mrs. Lockhart, Messrs. S. H. Taqi-zadeh, now Iranian Minister in London, M. A. Djamal-zadeh of the International Labour Office, Geneva, and M. Minovi. I must not omit to mention that I received some valued suggestions from Messrs. Firth, Taqi-zadeh and Minovi.

Outside the academic circle, I found in my eldest brother Khān Ṣāhib Al-Hāj 'Abdu'l-Halīm a true friend and guide to materially help me with his precious advice and encouragement to keep up the true spirit of a researcher. But the debt I owe him is too great to be repaid by a formal expression of gratitude.

The Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, Hyderabad (Deccan), has placed me under a deep debt of gratitude by his courtesy in writing a foreword to this work.

I cannot conclude this preface without gratefully mentioning also the name of Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, Inspector of Colleges and Mr. Sailendranath

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ADDENDA

Vahîd-i Dastagardî died on the 23rd of December 1942.

'Ibrat also died recently but the exact date of his death is not known.

CORRIGENDA

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|--------|-------------|--|
| Page | 5 | Line | 21 | <i>Read</i> | no more the <i>for</i> no more than. |
| " | 6 | " | 23 | " | popular <i>for</i> more popular. |
| " | 14 | " | 4 | " | Tabrîz should be under Āzarbāyjān and not under Işfahān. |
| " | 45 | " | 17 | " | poets <i>for</i> psoet. |
| " | 130 | " | 4 | " | entered <i>for</i> has entered. |
| " | 148 | " | 19 | " | poems <i>for</i> poem. |
| " | 150 | " | 15, 16 | " | On behalf of Iranians <i>for</i> on their behalf. |
| " | 177 | " | 1 | " | foot-note 371 <i>for</i> 651. |
| " | 185 | " | 9 | " | who gives <i>for</i> gives. |
| " | 185 | " | 20 | " | omit he. |
| " | 189 | " | 27 | " | The <i>for</i> There is a. |
| " | 109 | fn. | 8 | " | Mihir <i>for</i> Mshr. |
| " | 110 | fn. | 2 | | |
| " | 156 | fn. | 3 | | |

I

BIRTH

Birth of modern
poetry.

The birth of modern poetry of Īrān is in one sense prior, and has in another sense run parallel, to the birth of young Īrān. The great problem before the Iranian people was how to terminate the oppression and misrule of the Qājārs on the one hand, and how to rescue Īrān from the tightening grip of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, on the other. The agonies of mind, so acutely felt by the poets, were all due to this situation. The problem before these poets was how to free the spirit of men and women from the grip of the habits and traditions of society and religion. Modern poets treat diverse subjects with a determination to see their country happier and stronger in all possible ways. These new cravings could not find an adequate expression in the forms and language adapted either to traditional epics or to highly specific mystic theories. Consequently the forms had also to be modified to satisfy fresh demands.

Poetry follows the
general evolution of
society.

Among the world events and changes that have bearings upon the birth of the new national consciousness and consequently, to a certain extent,

upon modern Persian poetry, are :—

1. The growing contact with the West ;
2. The *Babī* religious movement¹, characterized by the fiery outbursts of Qurratu'l-'Ayn² and other *Babī* martyrs ;
3. The revolutionary agitation started by Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn³ and the articles published in the *Ziyā'u'l-Khāstara*⁴ (" The Light of the East and the West ") and the *Qanūn*⁵ (" Law "), in which he and the Armenian Malkom Khān⁶ fiercely attacked Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Shāh⁷ and his Government ;
4. The Russo-Japanese War⁸ resulting in the defeat of Russia and the sudden rise of Japan to the position of a World Power ;
5. The political and social changes in the Caucasus after the Russo-Japanese War as reflected in the organs of Bākū and Tiflis ; such as the *Irshād* (" Direction "), *Hayāt* (" Life "), *Sharq-i Rūs* (" Eastern Russia ") and *Mullā*

¹ Started in A.D. 1844

² Put to death in A.D. 1852. See my article 'Qurratu'l-'Ayn—a Babī Martyr,' published in the *Celestial Forum*, May, 1912

³ Born in Shāhān, 1254 October-November, 1833 and died on Shawwāl 5, 1314/March 9, 1897.

⁴ A bilingual monthly magazine (on Arabic and English) started in London in February, 1892.

⁵ A Persian periodical started by Malkom Khān in London on February 20, 1890. Forty-one numbers of this paper appeared. See *PPMP.*, p. 125 and *Persian Revolution*, pp. 35-42

⁶ Born at Isfahān in A.H. 1249/A.D. 1833-34; died in Rome in the year A.H. 1326/A.D. 1908.

⁷ Born July 17, 1831; ascended the throne September 17, 1848; assassinated May 1, 1896.

⁸ The War began February 8, 1904 and ended September 5, 1905.

Naşru'd-Dīn published in Caucasian Turkish ;

6. The growing revolt against the demoralized Muslim clergy and the misrule of the autocratic Qājār dynasty ;
7. The apprehension caused by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 which endangered the integrity of Īrān ;
8. The last Great European War with its thrilling episodes and momentous effects, such as the Russian Revolution resulting in the fall of the Czar and the formation of the Soviet Government, the establishment of the League of Nations, the Youth and Woman Movements all over the world ; and
9. The propagation of new scientific inventions, such as the telegraph, telephone, gramophone, railway, automobile, cinematograph, wireless, aeroplane, submarine, etc.

All these factors affecting the political and social life of Īrān found their echo and sublimation in modern poetry. The modern world opened up to the poets a vast academy, as it were, for the discussion of all the problems of private and social life, education, politics, economics, philosophy and religion. Their range of topics is considerably wide and they show a good grasp of the nature of the problems in hand.

Period short but
creative.

The modern period of Persian
poetry has been short but creative.

In my anthology I have had to give place to no less

than eighty-three poets, representative of the epoch, but this number could easily be increased¹. Among them there are no Firdausīs and Sa'dīs, but the distinctive feature of most of them is a definite individuality, which will secure to them a sure place in the modern Pantheon.

The herald of the modern age.

The herald of the new race of Persian poets may be said to be Adīb-i Piṣhāwari. Although he identified himself with Īrān and her people, he never forgot India, the land of his birth. He wrote poems both in Persian and Arabic, all in the old style. *Khāqānī* and *Qā'ānī* in particular are two of the earlier poets whom he imitated in his Persian poems. With regard to the forms of poetry, his *qaṣīdas*, *ghazals* and *rubā'īs* have nothing new in them. It is in the choice of subjects that he has shown originality. Even a cursory view of the various poems in his *Divān* may suffice to show how world events and the resulting state of affairs shaped his ideas. He has a poem on the Russo-Japanese War, a long diatribe exhorting the Indians to rise, several panegyrics to the ex-Kaiser and a goodly number of miscellaneous productions on the Great European War and the degraded condition of the Muslim world. It was particularly in his poems about Īrān and her people that he extolled patriotism and attachment to the 'motherland.'

¹ See note (*) on p 33 *infra*.

As is generally the case with a pioneer, the ideas of Adīb are crude and his language rather full of rigid classicism. He was, moreover, but a refugee, his mother-tongue being Pashto. In his Persian and Arabic compositions he could not help taking his stand on some classical authority, and yet he has struck a new note in his sentiments for Īrān. When the poets of the land followed suit, they expressed themselves with greater vigour and could address their countrymen more boldly. Adīb ushered in a new epoch in the history of Persian poetry, which has produced a great number of poets, the greatest of them being Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār.

Forms and contents
of modern poetry.

The older poetical forms are still prevalent in modern times, but they often serve for the expression of ideas entirely unknown in older times. The *qaṣīda* or court poem of the earlier period is almost absent from modern poetry. The *qaṣīda* survives as a form, but its purpose is no more than flattery of the reigning king or nobles of the court for personal gains. The subject of one of the *qaṣīdas*¹ of Sālār of Shīrāz is didactic. 'Ārif of Qazvīn has a *qaṣīda*² indicting his countrymen for accepting stipends from foreign legations. Farrukhī of Yazd has criticized Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla in a *qaṣīda*³ for his Anglo-Persian Treaty. Similarly the *ghazal*, *maṣnavī*, *qit'a* and *rubā'i* are

¹ Ishaque, *Sukhan*. i, 136-37.

² *Ibid.*, 200-201.

³ *Ibid.*, 316-17.

still the prevalent forms, but these names no more suffice to indicate the nature of the contents. It is the themes and the manner of handling them that now really count.

Classification of
Poets

So far as the forms and themes of poems are concerned, the poets of the Age may, as observed elsewhere¹, be conveniently classified under the following heads:—

1. Those writing in the old style and dealing with old themes, *e.g.*, Āzād of Hamadān, Baizā'i of Kāshān, Dānish of Ṭihrān, Rabbānī, Shabāb, Shu'ā', 'Ibrat, Ghamām, Nāṣih, Vuṣūq, Hādī, Yaktā and others.
2. Those writing in the old style but dealing with new themes, *e.g.*, Adīb-i Pīshāwarī, Afsar, Amīrī, Bahār, Parvin-i I'tiṣāmī, Piṣhmān, Pūr-i Dāvūd, Ḥikmat, Dānish of Khurāsān, Shahriyār, 'Ārif and others.
3. Those adopting a new style and dealing with new themes, *e.g.*, Aḥmadī, Sarmad, Ṣūratgar, Lāhūtī and others.
4. Those trying their poetic skill in the composition of more popular songs (*Taṣnīf*), *e.g.*, Aḥmadī, Amīrī, Bahār, Piṣhmān, Jāhid, Shaydā, 'Ārif and others.

¹ Ishaque, Sukhan, i. 4-5 (Introduction): also ii. xx (Introduction).

II

POETS

Here we propose to introduce the poets of modern Īrān in the chronological order of their birth dates and group them geographically according to their places of birth. The list given below does not claim to be exhaustive, nor are the poets, named in it, all of the same calibre. I do not, however, mean disrespect to any left out of consideration. The criterion of selection of the poets for treatment is their fame and reputation in the literary circle of Īrān.

(a) Poets classified chronologically :—

| Name and <i>Takhalluṣ</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb | ... 1260 ¹ | 1349 ² | Pīshāwar. |
| 2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Qarīb Rabbānī | ... 1262 | 1345 ³ | Garakān. |

¹ The exact date of his birth is not known. 'Alī 'Abdu'r-Rasūlī who edited the *Divān* of Adīb in A.H. 1352/A.D. 1933 (vide *Muqaddima* to the *Divān*, p. 2) and Dinshah J. Irani, (*Poets of the Pahlavī Régime*, p. 5) give his approximate date of birth as A.H. 1260/A.D. 1844-45.

² E. Berthels gives the year of Adīb's death as A.D. 1931 (vide *Encycl. of Islām* iii, 1064), but the actual date of his death was Monday, the 3rd Šafar, 1349/30th June, 1930 (when I was in Tīhrān). Vuṣṣu'qu'd-Dawla wrote an elegy on him which ends with the chronogram :

آه بیغزود و گفت حیف و دریغ از ادیب

i.e., 1349 (vide *Sukḥan*, ii, 383).

³ Vahīd-i Dastgardī wrote an elegy on Rabbānī (vide *Sukḥan*, ii, 174

| Name and <i>Takhallus</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 3. Rūzā Khān (Prince Arfa') <i>Dīnsh</i> ... | 1267 | 1356 ¹ | Tabriz. |
| 4. Muḥammad Jawād <i>Shahb</i> ... | 1270 | 1351 | Kirmānshāh. |
| 5. Muḥammad Taqī <i>Shūrīda</i> ... | 1274 | 1345 ¹ | Shīrāz. |
| 6. Sādiq Khān (Adībū'l-Mamālik) <i>Amirī</i> ... | 1277 ¹ | 1336 | Kūzārān. |

f. n. 1). the last verse of which gives the year of his death:

سر برون کرد ز مینوی فلک جاحظ و گفت
آفتاب فلک علم و ادب حسست افول

Here 3 for ج in جاحظ is to be subtracted from the total of the numerical values of all the letters of the second hemistich, i.e., $1348 - 3 = 1345$.

¹ Prince Arfa' died on March 19, 1937/Isfand 28, 1315 (Solar). Nādirī in an elegy on the Prince gives the chronogram of his death as:

سر ز طهران برون نمود و سرود رفت دانش ز عالم فانی

(vide *Kānūn-i Shūrā*, p. 7, No. 36-40, vol. iii).

Here the value of ط in طهران is to be subtracted from the total value of the letters in the second hemistich, i.e., $1324 - 9 = 1315$.

² The year of the birth of *Shūrīda*, according to the *Fārs-nāma-i Nāsrī* by Ḥājī Mirzā Ḥasan *Shīrāzī*, is A.H. 1274/ A.D. 1857-58. But according to the chronogram هفت سال و هفت روز contained in the following verse of the poet, he was born in A.H. 1280/ A.D. 1863-64:

گفت کی زائید مامت گفتمش مامر چو زاد
رفته بود از سال هجرت هفت سال و هفت روز

This discrepancy would disappear if the value of the letter و in the chronogram هفت سال و هفت روز is not taken into consideration. The actual date of his death is Thursday, the 6th Rabi' II, 1345. The poet, before his death, wrote his own epitaph, the last hemistich of which, quoted here, gives the year of his death:

شده شوریده بجان جانبِ مَنانِ رحیم

i.e., 1345 (vide *Sukhan*, i, 190).

³ When *Amirī* was born, a friend of his father composed the following *rubā'i* in which the words پیغمبر پاک give *Amirī's* year of birth as A.H. 1277:

فرخنده نژاد صادق آن اختر پاک دارای نژاد فروغ و گوهر پاک
پیغمبر پاک سال میلادش شد چون هست ز خاندان پیغمبر پاک

| Name and <i>Takhalluṣ</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 7. 'Abdu'l-Jawād <i>Adīb</i> | ... | 1281 | 1344 ¹ Nīshāpūr. |
| 8. Yaḥyā (<i>Yahyā</i>) | ... | 1281 ² | 1318 Dawlatābād. |
| 9. Ḥusayn <i>Khān</i> Isfandiyārī | ... | 1283 | ... Ṭīhrān. |
| 10. Muḥammad 'Alī <i>Khān</i> 'Ibrat | ... | 1285 | ... Iṣfahān. |
| 11. Sayyid <i>Ashrafu'd-Dīn Ashraf</i> | ... | 1288 | 1350 Rasht. |
| 12. Taqī <i>Khān</i> (Ziyā-Lashkar) <i>Dāniṣh</i> | ... | 1288 | ... Tafrīsh. |
| 13. Ḥaydar 'Alī <i>Kamālī</i> | ... | 1288 | ... Abarqū. |
| 14. Muḥammad Ḥusayn <i>Khān</i> (<i>Shu'ā'u'l-Mulk</i>) <i>Shu'ā'</i> | ... | 1289 | ... Shīrāz. |
| 15. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn <i>Āyatī</i> | .. | 1290 | ... Taft. |
| 16. Īraj Mīrzā (Jalālu'l-Mamālik) <i>Īraj</i> | ... | 1291 | 1344 ³ Tabrīz. |
| 17. Ḥusayn <i>Khān</i> <i>Dāniṣh</i> | ... | 1292 | ... Istānbul. |
| 18. Muḥammad Yūsuf-zāda <i>Ghamām</i> | ... | 1292 | ... Najaf. |
| 19. Ḥasan <i>Khān</i> (Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla) <i>Vuṣūq</i> | ... | 1292 | ... Ṭīhrān. |
| 20. Ḥusayn <i>Khān</i> Samī'ī (Adību's-Salṭana) <i>'Atā</i> | ... | 1293 | ... Rasht. |
| 21. Ismā'il Amīr- <i>Khizī</i> <i>Girāmī</i> | ... | 1294 | ... Tabrīz. |
| 22. Muḥammad Kasmā'ī | ... | 1294 | 1352 Rasht. |
| 23. 'Abdu'l-'Azīm <i>Khān</i> <i>Qarīb</i> | ... | 1296 | ... Garakūn. |

¹ *Ishraq-i Khavari* gives the year of his birth as A.H. 1284 (vide *Armaghān*, vii, p. 235). According to *Rashid-i Yāsīmī*, he died on *Zu'l-qa'da*, 12, 1344 (see *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āsir*, p. 15).

² In A.H. 1330 Yaḥyā wrote a poem, the opening verse of which reads *ز پنجاه سالت فزون گشت عمر*, from which his date of birth can roughly be calculated as 1330-50=1280. (For the poem, refer to *Urdi-Bihisht*, p. 6.)

³ *Shurida* wrote an elegy on the death of Īraj Mīrzā, the last hemistich of which contains the chronogram of Īraj's death. The verse runs as

ایرج ما مرد آه از کید این تور فلک

i.e., 1344. (*Sukhan*, i, 186-87)

| Name and <i>Takhalluṣ</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 24. Muḥammad Hūshim Mīrzā Afsar ... | 1297 ¹ | 1360 | Sabzavār. |
| 25. 'Alī Akbar Khān Dihkhudā Dakhaw' ... | 1297 | ... | Ṭīhrān. |
| 26. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Adīb-i Azād Adib... | 1298 | ... | Tabriz. |
| 27. Ḥasan Khān Vahid ... | 1298 | ... | Daštāgard. |
| 28. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāḍi ... | 1299 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 29. 'Alī Muḥammad Baiṣā'i ... | 1299 | 1352 ² | Ārān. |
| 30. Aḥmad Khān Ashṭarī Yaktā ... | 1299 | ... | Jawshāqān. |
| 31. Abu'l-Qāsim 'Ārif ... | 1300 | 1352 ³ | Qazvin. |
| 32. Aḥmad Khān Bahmanyār Dihqān ... | 1301 | ... | Kirmān. |
| 33. Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān Furūghī ... | 1301 | ... | Ṭīhrān. |
| 34. Murtaṣā Khān (Tarjumānu'l-Mamālik) <i>Farhang</i> ... | 1301 | ... | Ṭīhrān. |
| 35. 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Āzād ... | 1302 | ... | Hamadān. |
| 36. Naṣīru'd-Dīn Khān Sālār ... | 1302 | ... | Shīrāz. |
| 37. Taqī Khān Āq-evlī Binīsh ... | 1303 | ... | Ṭīhrān. |
| 38. Ibrāhīm Khān Pūr-i Dāvūd Pūr ⁴ ... | 1303 | ... | Rasht. |
| 39. Muḥammad Taqī (Maliku'sh-Shu'arā) <i>Bahār</i> ... | 1304 | ... | Mashhad. |

¹ Raḥīd-i Yāsīmī gives the date of the birth of Afsar as Muḥarram 21, 1297 (vide *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 16).

² The actual date of his death is Tuesday, the 15th Isfand, 1313 (Solar) as given by his son Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Baiṣā'i in his article on his father (vide *Armaghān*, x:i, 64).

³ Raḥīd-i Yāsīmī mentions the date of the death of 'Ārif as Bahman, 1312 (Solar) (vide *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 69). K. Tschajkin (vide *KONPL*... p. 59) and E. Berthels (vide *Encycl. of Islām*, iii, 1065) give the date of his birth as A.D. 1579-80, while Dr. Shafaq who has edited the *Dirān* of 'Ārif gives A.H. 1300, i.e., A.D. 1882-83. (vide *Dirān-i 'Ārif*, p. 59, f. n. 1).

⁴ In his early days he used *Lisān* as his *Takhalluṣ* (vide the closing verses of poems Nos. 2 and 4 on pages 21 and 23 respectively of his *Forman-Dakht-Nāmah*).

| Name and <i>Takhalluṣ</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 40. Yadu'llāh <u>Khān Māyil</u> ... | 1304 | ... | Tūysirkān. |
| 41. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn <u>Khān</u> (<u>Shaykhu'l-Mulk</u>) <i>Aurang.</i> | 1305 | ... | Ṭihṛān. |
| 42. Muḥammad 'Alī <u>Khān Bāmdād</u> ... | 1305 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 43. Nizām-i Vafā <u>Nizām</u> ... | 1305 | ... | Kāshān. |
| 44. Muḥammad <u>Farrukhī</u> ... | 1306 | 1358 ¹ | Yazd. |
| 45. Abu'l-Qāsim <u>Lāhūtī</u> ... | 1306 ² | ... | Kirmānshāh |
| 46. Ḥusayn <u>Khān Masrūr</u> ... | 1308 | ... | Kūpā. |
| 47. Abu'l-Qāsim <u>Khān</u> I'tiṣām-zāda <u>Niyāzī</u> | 1308 | ... | Tabriz. |
| 48. Mūsā (Mu'azzamu's-Saltāna) <u>Dawlat</u> ... | 1309 | ... | Ṭihṛān. |
| 49. Mahdī <u>Khān</u> Malik <u>Hijāzī</u> <u>Qulzum</u> ... | 1309 | ... | Yazd. |
| 50. Hādī <u>Khān</u> Hā'irī <u>Hādī</u> ... | 1309 | ... | Ṭihṛān. |
| 51. 'Alī Aṣghar <u>Khān</u> <u>Hikmat</u> ... | 1310 ³ | ... | <u>Shīrāz</u> . |
| 52. Ṣādiq <u>Khān</u> Riḏā-zāda <u>Shafaq</u> ... | 1310 | ... | Tabriz. |
| 53. 'Alī Riḏa Ibrāhīmī <u>Dāniṣh</u> ... | 1311 | ... | Kirmān. |
| 54. 'Abdu'llāh <u>Khān</u> Yāsā'ī (<u>Yāsā'i</u>) ... | 1311 | ... | Mihrijird. |
| 55. Ghulām Ḥusayn <u>Khān</u> <u>Surūd</u> ... | 1312 | ... | Ṭihṛān. |
| 56. Muḥammad Riḏā <u>'Ishqī</u> ... | 1312 | 1342 ⁴ | Hamadān. |

¹ For the manner in which he met his death, see the Introduction (p. ڪ) to Farrukhī's *Divān* (ed. by Ḥusayn-i Makkī), published at Ṭihṛān in A.H. 1320 (Solar).

² Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī gives the date of his birth as A.H. 1306/A.D. 1887 (vide *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, p. 586). Berthels also mentions A.D. 1887 (vide *Encycl. of Islām*, iii, p. 1065).

³ According to Rashīd-i Yāsīmī, Hikmat was born on Ramaẓān 23, 1310. (See *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'aṣṣir*, p. 41).

⁴ In 1930 I visited the tomb of the poet at the cemetery of Ibn Bābawayhi situated on the south of the ruined city of Rayy, and found the following inscription on the tombstone:

در مسلخ عشق جز نکشند لاغر صفتان زشت خورا نکشند
گر عاشق صادق ز کشتن مگریز مردار بود هر آنکه او را نکشند
شهادت مرحوم میرزاده عشقی ۵ شنبه آخر ذی قعدة الحرام ۱۳۴۲ هجری

| Name and <i>Takhalluṣ</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|--|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 57. 'Abbās <i>Khān Furāt</i> . . . | 1312 | ... | Yazd. |
| 58. Yahyā <i>Khān Samī'iyān Raiḥān</i> . . . | 1313 | ... | Ṭihrān. |
| 59. Maḥmūd <i>Khān Afshār</i> , Dr.— . . . | 1313 | ... | Yazd. |
| 60. Muḥammad Dāniṣh Buzurg-niyā <i>Dāniṣh</i> . . . | 1314 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 61. Ghulām Riṣā <i>Khān Rashīd-i Yāsīmī</i> (<i>Yāsīmī</i>) . . . | 1314 | ... | Kirmānshāh |
| 62. Ghulām Riṣā <i>Khān Rūḥānī</i> . . . | 1314 | ... | Ṭihrān. |
| 63. Sayyid Maḥmūd <i>Khān Jawāhirī Farrukh</i> . . . | 1314 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 64. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān <i>Farāmarzī</i> . . . | 1315 | ... | Gachū. |
| 65. 'Alī Buzurg-niyā (Ṣadru't-Tujjār) <i>Ṣadr</i> . . . | 1316 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 66. Muḥammad 'Alī <i>Khān Nāṣih</i> . . . | 1316 | ... | Ṭihrān. |
| 67. Bahāu'd-Dīn <i>Khān Ḥusām-zāda</i> . . . | 1317 | ... | Shīrāz. |
| 68. Jalālu'd-Dīn <i>Khān Humā'ī Sanā</i> . . . | 1317 | ... | Iṣfahān. |
| 69. Badī'uz-Zamān <i>Furūzānfar</i> . . . | 1318 ¹ | ... | Buṣhrūya. |
| 70. Ḥusayn <i>Khān Bakhtiyārī Pizhmān</i> . . . | 1318 | ... | Ṭihrān. |
| 71. Sayyid Ḥusayn <i>Shajara Binā</i> . . . | 1318 | ... | Iṣfahān. |
| 72. Luṭf 'Alī <i>Khān Ṣūratgar</i> , Dr.— . . . | 1319 | ... | Shīrāz. |
| 73. Naṣru'llāh <i>Khān Falsafī</i> . . . | 1319 | ... | Ṭihrān. |
| 74. Muḥammad Amīn <i>Adīb</i> . . . | 1320 | ... | Mashhad. |
| 75. Ḥabīb Yaghmā'ī <i>Ḥabīb</i> . . . | 1320 | ... | Khūr. |
| 76. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn <i>Aḥmadī</i> . . . | 1321 | ... | Bakhtiyārī land. |
| 77. Muḥammad Ḥusayn <i>Khān Shahriyār</i> . . . | 1323 | ... | Tabriz. |
| 78. Sayyid Ṣādiq <i>Khān Sarmad</i> . . . | 1325 ² | ... | Ṭihrān. |

¹ Y. Marr gives the date of his birth as Tuesday, the 28th Rabī' II, 1322/12th July, 1904. See Marr's article (in Russian) *Contemporary means of Transport pictured by Persian poets* published in the *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes*, dated the 22nd August, 1929, p. 223.

² Dīnshah J. Irānī, (*PPR.*, p. 326) and *Rashīd-i Yāsīmī*, (See *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 56) give the date of his birth as A.H. 1289 (Solar) which is equivalent to A.H. 1329/A.D. 1911-12.

| Name and <i>Takhallus</i> | Born A.H. | Died A.H. | Place of birth |
|--|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 79. Parvīn-i Iṭīḡāmī <i>Parvīn</i> | ... | 1328 | Tihrān. |
| 80. Jahāngīr-i Jalīlī (<i>Jalīlī</i>) | ... | 1324 | Tihrān. |
| 81. Ghulām 'Alī Khān Azarakhshī <i>Ra'dī, Dr.</i> | 1323 | ... | Tabriz. |
| 82. Nuṣratu'llāh Khān Kūsimī <i>Nuṣrat</i> | ... | 1329 | Tihrān. |
| 83. Faṣl-i Bahār Khānum (<i>Irānu'd-Dawla</i>) <i>Jannat.</i> | not known | ... | Tihrān. |

(b) Poets grouped geographically :—

| Place of birth | Number of poets | Numbers from the foregoing table |
|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| Tihrān | ... | 20 9, 19, 25, 33, 34, 37, 41, 45, 50, 55, 58, 62, 66, 70, 73, 79, 79, 80, 82 and 83. |
| <u>Khurāsān</u> : | | |
| Maṣḥhad | ... | 7 28, 32, 42, 60, 63, 65 and 74. |
| Buṣhrūya | ... | 1 69. |
| Nishāpūr | ... | 1 7. |
| Sabzavār | ... | 1 24. |
| <u>Isfahān</u> : | | |
| Isfahān | ... | 3 10, 68 and 71. |
| Abarqu | ... | 1 13. |
| Bakhtiyārī land | ... | 1 76. |
| Dastgard | ... | 1 27. |

¹ Sālār of Shīrūz has given her year of death in the following chronogram:

افسرده طبع سالار از سال رحلتش گفت

دیدى کار این جهان شد پروین اقصامى

i.e., 1360.

| Place of birth | | Number of poets | Numbers from the foregoing table |
|-----------------|-----|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Dawlatābād | ... | 1 | 8. |
| Kūpā | ... | 1 | 46. |
| Tabriz | ... | 8 | 3, 16, 21, 26, 47, 52, 77 and 81. |
| Fārs : | | | |
| Shīrāz | ... | 6 | 5, 14, 36, 51, 67 and 72. |
| Gachū | ... | 1 | 64. |
| Yazd : | | | |
| Yazd | ... | 4 | 44, 49, 57 and 59. |
| Mīhrjird | ... | 1 | 54. |
| ‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam : | | | |
| Garakān | ... | 2 | 2 and 23. |
| Kāzarān | ... | 1 | 6. |
| Tafrīsh | ... | 1 | 12. |
| Rasht | ... | 4 | 11, 20, 22 and 38. |
| Kirmānshāh | ... | 3 | 4, 45 and 61. |
| Kirmān : | | | |
| Kirmān | ... | 2 | 32 and 53. |
| Taft | ... | 1 | 15. |
| Kāshān : | | | |
| Kāshān | ... | 1 | 43. |
| Ārān | ... | 1 | 29. |
| Hamadān | ... | 2 | 35 and 56. |
| Qazvīn | ... | 1 | 31. |
| Jawshāqān | ... | 1 | 30. |
| Tūysirkān | ... | 1 | 40. |
| Khūr | ... | 1 | 75. |

This shows that the poets who belong to Īrān by virtue of their birth and nationality are eighty in all. Among the remaining three poets, Adīb (No. 1) was a native of Pīshāwar, but his warm feelings for Īrān are obvious. Dānīsh (No. 17), born at Istānbūl, has never been to Īrān, but he is of Iranian parentage and is at present attached to the Iranian Embassy at Ankara. Ghamām (No. 18), though born at Najaf, is a pure Iranian by parentage, nationality, residence and service.

It is impossible to describe in detail the whole of the output of each single poet, quoted in the first table. Select pieces of poetry, representative of individual style, are to be found in my anthology, and here I shall present only the distinctive characteristics of their individuality. To take them in order :

1. Adīb of Pīshāwar who comes first chronologically, is a bilingual poet. Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī has compared him with Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (A.D. 973-1057)¹. His verses are full of classicism and obsolete expressions.

2. Rabbānī who like Adīb is a bilingual poet of the Classical school, has written verses that are dull, laboured and old-fashioned.

3. All we can say of Dānīsh of Tabrīz is that he imitates classical models. His two best known

¹ Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, *Bist Maqāla* i, 7, Bombay, 1928.

Maṣnavī poems are 'Ṭūl-i 'Umr'¹ ("Secrets of Longevity") and 'Āvāza-i Bazm-i Ṣulḥ-i la Ḥaye' ("Echoes of the Peace Conference of the Hague"²). He died at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

4. Shabāb of Kirmānshāh—a rider, archer and editor—is an expert in the use of choice words and in the employment of rhetoric, often displaying great ingenuity. His poems in the Shakaristān³ show that though old in age, he was young in thought and spirit.

5. Though an adherent of the Classical school, Shūrīda has a style of his own. He is remarkable for his excellent diction and ability to play on words. He could well claim to be a descendant of Ahlī of Shīrāz⁴.

6. Amīrī—a prominent journalist—is another bilingual poet whose poetry is commensurate with

¹ See his *Divān-i Gauhar-i Khāvarī*, pp. 36-56, Iṣtānbūl.

² This poem, comprising fifty-three verses, has been translated into French, English, German, Russian, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, Latin, Greek, Armenian, Japanese, Arabic and Turkish languages. (See *Echos de la Conférence de la Haye*, Constantinople, 1903).

³ First edition was published at Kirmānshāh in A.H. 1306 (Solar).

⁴ This celebrated poet flourished chiefly in the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī. Besides a *Divān* of *qaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, enigmas and other ingenious kinds, of versification, he has to his credit two *Maṣnavīs*, *Sham' u Parwāna* ("The Taper and the Moth"), and *Siḥr-i Ḥalāl* ("Lawful Magic"). His another much admired *qaṣīda* is honoured with a commentary by Mullā Jāmī. He died in A.H. 942, according to the chronogram: *پادشاه شعرا بود اهلی*.

his learning. He is an unbiassed purist¹ and a pungent satirist, perhaps the greatest after Sūzanī².

7. Adīb of Nīshāpūr, although handicapped by blindness, is a good bilingual poet. At first he followed Qā'ānī, but afterwards adopted the Turkistān style. As a blind man, he is naturally inclined to be introspective.

8. Yahyá is more an imitator than an original composer. He will be remembered for his attempt to revive the syllabic system in Persian metres, as also for his verse-translation of many a French poem³ into Persian.

9. Muhtashimu's-Saltāna, many times President of the Majlis, is a scanty versifier of *ghazals*. He is better known for his political activities than his poetical productions. He deserves mention also for the fact that he presided over the historic Congress of Orientalists, held on the occasion of Firdausī Millenary celebrations at Tīhrān in A.H. 1355/A.D. 1934.

10. 'Ibrat, who is a staunch adherent of the Classical school and well known for his mystic trend of mind, is flawless in his rhyme and metre.

¹ Purist in the sense that he writes in pure Persian diction, free from Arabic.

² d. A.H. 569/A.D. 1173-74.

³ e.g., *Christine* by Leconte de Lisle, *Le loup et le jeune mouton* by Fénelon, *La mort des Rois* by Edmond Hancourt, *Le Vase brisé* by Sully Prudhomme, *La jeune Captive* by André de Chénier.

11. Ashraf is prophetic and inspiring; his poems are noted for their genial flow and breathe the air of freedom and progress.

12. Dānish of Ṭihrān who specializes in *qaṣīdas* of the classical style, treats both serious and humorous themes with equal skill. His *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, rich in culinary vocabulary, reminds us of the classical *Buṣḥaq-i Aṭ'ima*.

13. Kamālī who was apprenticed by his father to a blacksmith, is a self-taught man. As a poet, he has been held in high esteem by his contemporaries'. Though a follower of the school of Fārs and 'Irāq, he does not disdain the Indian style (*Sabk-i Hindī*).

14. Shu'ā' is a merited, though pedantic, composer of *qaṣīdas* and *qit'as* on classical models; he is skilled in composing chronograms.

15. Āyatī—a renegade Bahā'ī—has no particular claim to eminence except for his introduction of the *Ṣulāṣī* verse-form and his capacity for writing in pure Persian. His *Kawākibu'd-Durriyya fī Ma'āṣiru'l-Bahā'iyya*² in favour of and *Kashfu'l-*

² Amīrī praises him thus:—

ابوالکمال کمالی خدا یگان سخن
به پیکر قلمت جای کرده جان سخن
اگر نه کلک تو طرح سخن در افکندی
بر اوفتادی ازین مهلکت نشان سخن

(*Dīvān-i Amīrī*, p. 435, Ṭihrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35).

² This work, comprising two volumes, deals with the origin and propagation of Bahā'īism and was published in Egypt in 1923.

*Hiyal*¹ against Bahā'ism are his important works. His fame also rests on the monthly *Namakdān*, edited by him for about five years.

16. *Īraj Mīrzā*, a prince of the blood, is a great personality amongst modern poets. He has composed singularly simple, fluent and elegant poems in a homely diction. For his ribald and satirical poems his *Divān* was proscribed, as also for his free thoughts; he, like Firdausī, was denied burial in a Muslim cemetery².

17. *Dānīsh* of *Iṣfahān* is lucid in style, classical in form and romantic in theme. Though his poem on *Zartusht*³ (In praise of Zoroaster) bespeaks his nationalistic feelings, he has never been to *Īrān*.

¹ *Kashfu'l-Hiyal*, published in three volumes, is a vigorous attack on Bahā'ism.

² *Īraj* lies in a grave by the roadside at *Shīmrān* on the north of *Tajrīsh*. I found the following poem, written by the poet himself, inscribed on his tombstone:

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| اے نکویان کہ در این دنیا آئید | یا ازین بعد بدنیا آئید |
| اینکہ خفته است در این خاک منم | ایرحم ایرج شیرین ستختم |
| مدفن عشق جهان است اینجا | یک جهان عشق نہان است اینجا |
| ہر کراوی خوش و موی نکوست | مرده و زندہ من عاشق اوست |
| من همانم کہ در ایام حیات | بی شما صرف نکردم اوقات |
| بعد چون رخت زد دنیا بستم | باز در راہ شما بندشستم |
| گرچہ امروز بخاکم ماواست | چشم من باز بدنبال شماست |
| بنشینید بر این خاک دمی | بگذارید بخاکم قدمی |
| گاهی از من بسخن یاد کنید | در دل خاک دلم شاد کنید |

³ *Zartusht-nāma*, *Istānbul* in 1918; also *Sukhan*. ii, 121-24.

18. Ghamām writes ghazals and other poems, remarkable for their simplicity and spontaneity.

19. Vuṣūq, sometime Premier and responsible for the abortive Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, is a follower of the old masters, conspicuous for the dexterity and firmness of his verse. His poems deal with social and philosophical subjects.

20. 'Aṭā who has held different portfolios in the Cabinet, follows the style of 'Irāq poets. His poem, *Payām-i Kūh*¹ ("The Message of the Mountain") may be reckoned as a masterpiece for its bold imagery, solemn diction and sublime ideas.

21. Girāmi of Tabrīz has adhered largely to the classical models.

22. Muḥammad Kasmā'i, younger brother of Husayn Kasmā'i of the *Jungle Movement* fame², is noted for writing good poems in his native *Gīlakī*. As a versifier in Persian, he is noted for his advocacy of the cause of women.

23. The critic 'Abdu'l-'Azīm Khān of Garakān is a learned but scanty writer in a patriotic strain. As a veteran educationist, he has devoted his life to the cause of the revival of the Persian language and literature.

¹ PPR., pp 19-27.

² Husayn Kasmā'i (A.H. 1288-1339/A.D. 1871-1920) was a spirited nationalist. He returned from Europe to Irān when the '*Jungle Movement*' of Mīrzā Kūchik Khān was set on foot. He joined the movement and became editor of its organ, *The Jungle*, which had nine issues only.

Adabī of *Ṭihrān* (founded in A.H. 1339/A.D.1920-21).

28. *Nādirī* is prolific but without any outstanding talent. His long *Maṣnavī* poem *Ta'rikh-i Nādir Shāh* will perpetuate the glory of his great ancestor *Nādir Shāh*¹. Of the blood royal as he is, he lives the simple life of an ascetic.

29. *Baizā'i* is somewhat dull and monotonous in his pessimism.

30. *Yaktā* follows the old school but his poems are the handiwork of an Artist, and his use of similes and metaphors is appropriate and generally flawless. *Amīrī* has praised his poetic talents².

31. 'Ārif, in the words of *Īraj*, is a more gifted composer of songs than of poems³. His unruly independence of spirit is manifest throughout his writings. He may aptly be described as a patriotic poet of the Constitution. The democratic spirit

¹ The poem was written at the instance of *Maliku'sh-Shū'arā Bahār*, in the metre used by *Khāqānī* in his *Tuḥfatu'l-'Irāqayn*.

² Cf.

چامه من پیش گفتارت بدان ماند که کسی
در سپهر آرد ستاره در بهشت آرد گیا
چون فراوان آرمودم دیدمت با دار و برد
در سخن جادو کنی و زخامه داری کیمیا
دانش از گفت تو در گوش اندر آرد گوشوار
بیغشی از کلک تو اندر دیده دارد توتیا

Amīrī's Divān-i Kāmil, p. 23, *Ṭihrān*, A.H. 1312 (Solar).

³ Cf.

تو آهوئی مکن چانا گرازی تو شاعر نیستی تصنیف سازی
(*Divān-i Īraj* ii, 48, *Ṭihrān*, A.H. 1909 (Solar); *Sukhan*, i, 14, f. n. 3.)

of the age and the reawakened love for freedom have been voiced in his poems. He could not tolerate cant and hypocrisy in any sphere.

32. Dihqān is not prolific. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asiatic sympathies pervade his poem *Hadiyya-i Sharq*¹ ("A Present from the *Sharq*").

33. Furūghī is of scholarly habits and follows the track of the classical style. His *Shīdūsh u Nāhīd*², a tragic drama in verse, based on a legendary tale, shows his merits.

34. Farhang's merit lies mainly in the introduction of alternate rhyming³. Patriotism is the dominant note of his poetry.

35. Āzād is noted for the sweet melody and mystical suggestion of his *ghazals*.

36. Sālār, President of the *Anjuman-i Adabī* of *Shīrāz* with pro-British sympathies, has only followed the trodden path in his *ghazals*.

37. Bīnīsh who is above criticism in the art of poetry, has a good fund of humour and capacity for malicious parody of the classics by way of *Tazmīn*.

38. Pūr-i Dāvūd's poems are mostly heroic and romantic stanzas, inspired undoubtedly by the

¹ See *Hadiyya-i Sharq*, published at Mashhad in A.H. 1300 (Solar); also *Sukhan*, ii, 169-71.

² Lithographed at Tīhrān in A.H. 1340.

³ See *Sukhan*, i, 337-40.

national spirit of Firdausī. They are simple and eloquent, exhibiting profound pathos and Zoroastrian tendencies. He is a staunch supporter of the *purist* movement¹.

39. Bahār—once the most devoted Constitutionalist and trusted leader of the 'Nationalist Party' of Khurāsān—is the outstanding representative both of the technical perfection and of the philosophic depth of modern poetry, and no less of its sobriety and sanity. The contents of his poems show a nice balance between national sentiment, political thoughts and individual reflections. His association with the literary journals, the *Naw Bahār*, *Tāza Bahār* and *Dānish Kada*, edited by him in succession, deserves notice.

40. Māyil is a good versifier without much distinction. He successively edited the dailies, *Sitāra-i Īrān* and *Shafaq-i Surkh*, both now defunct.

41. If Aurang is a good versifier, he is certainly a better reciter of poems. It would not be surprising if in a poetic contest with his rivals he should assert his excellence².

42. Bāmdād has tried his hand at all kinds of poetry without eminence in any.

¹ Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, *Bist Maqāla-i Qazvīnī*, i, 16, Bombay, 1928.

² He won the first prize in the competition held on the occasion of Firdausī Millenary in A.H. 1353/A.D. 1934 under the auspices of the *Anjuman-i Adabī* of Tīhrān.

43. Niẓām-i Vafā is old-fashioned and yet one could wish that his art were equal to his ideas.

44. Farrukhī is, perhaps, the best improviser of his age. He is notorious in his country for his communistic leanings.

45. Lāhūtī is ultra-modern in his ideas, communistic in creed and fiery in expression. His communistic views have found strong expression in the poems, *Kiriml*¹ ("The Kremlin") and *Inqilāb-i Surkh*² ("The Red Revolution"). He has successfully attempted new forms of Persian poetry³.

46. Masrūr's poetic fame is on the increase. He is equally able to deal with humorous and serious themes. His poem on the *Tablets*, found at Persepolis, gives a full measure of his talent⁴.

47. Niyāzī makes a greater poet in French than one in Persian. His verse-translation *Les Rubayat*⁵ of 'Omar Khayyām drew the notice of French savants.

¹ Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī, *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 587-93, Moscow, 1926.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 593-94.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 311-12

⁴ In course of excavations, carried out at Persepolis under the supervision of the German explorer Herzfeld, two tablets with trilingual inscriptions were discovered in A.H. 1352/A.D. 1933-34. It was ascertained that the inscriptions referred to Darius and the date was fixed at 515 B.C. The *Literary Society of Tīhrān* declared a reward of twenty Pahlavī guineas for the best poem that would be composed on those tablets. Fifty poets sent in their poems. In the judgement of Āqā-i Hikmat, the then Minister of Public Instruction, and Hājī Sayyid Naṣru'llāh Taqavī, the poem of Masrūr was considered to be the best and the reward was given to him.

⁵ Published in Paris in A.D. 1934.

48. Daulat passes as a modest *ghazal* writer.

49. Qulzum who sings of new themes in the old style, is chiefly known for his *Haftād Mauj*¹ ("Seventy Billows"). It resembles externally the *Istidlāliyya* of the Bahā'ī poet, Mīrzā Na'im of Isfahān².

50. Hādī writes excellent *ghazals*, rich in philosophical and mystical thoughts and sentiments. His poem *Khizāniyya*³ ("On Autumn"), written in pure Persian and in the vigorous style of Classical writers, shows his merit.

51. Hikmat, sometime Minister of Public Instruction, is a skilled composer of didactic *maṣnavīs*.

52. Dr. Shafaq is rather a prose-writer than a poet. His poems *Bi Yād-i Pidaram*⁴ ("In memory of my Father") and *Bi Yād-i Birādaram*⁵ ("In memory of my Brother") are full of pathos, while his *Zindagī*⁶ ("Life") and *Taṣawwuf*⁷ ("Mysticism") are tinged with Sūfī thoughts.

¹ Published in Berlin, A.H. 1348/A.D. 1929.

² Na'im was a poor man of no education and little known outside the circle of his co-religionists who regard his power of versification as a divine gift. His verses are partly in Persian and partly in Arabic. He was born in A.H. 1272/A.D. 1855-56 and died in A.H. 1328/A.D. 1910-11.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 411-13.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 244-45; also *Īrānshahr*, 4th yr., pp. 10-11.

⁵ *Sukhan*, ii, 242-44; also *Sa'adat-i Nūrī*, *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 99-102. Tīhrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar).

⁶ *Sukhan*, ii, 246; also *Īrānshahr*, 4th yr., p. 394.

⁷ *Sukhan*, ii, 246; also *Īrānshahr*, 2nd yr., pp. 507-8.

53. Dānīsh of Kirmān is lucid and didactic in his ghazals, written on classical models.

54. Yāsā'i has a higher place in politics than in poetry.

55. Though a soldier by profession, Surūd is capable of all manner of skilful versification in the classical style.

56. 'Ishqī may be called the apostle of Young Īrān. His two poems, *Īdiāl-i 'Ishqī*¹ ("The Ideal of 'Ishqī") and *Rastākhīz*² ("Resurrection"), raised him to eminence. Some occasional defects in diction and metre are immaterial, where the theme is lofty and the strain high. He was not only a popular poet but also a composer of songs. He paid with his life for the sincerity of his extreme republican views³. But for his premature death, he would perhaps have been one of the best poets of modern Īrān.

57. Furāt is known for his *qit'as* and ghazals. In one of the ghazals he has aptly criticized the conventional ornate poetry as being repugnant to modern taste⁴.

¹ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 46-79, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-30.

³ The poet had a sort of prevision of his unnatural death in the following lines;

من آن نیم بمرگ طبیعی بمیرم این
یک کاسه خون به بستر راحت هدر کنم

(See *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 172).

⁴ See *PPR.*, pp. 507-8.

58. Rayhān's poems are thoughtful and appealing, but he forsook his communistic views after one night's confinement in a lunatic asylum. He successfully edited the *Gul-i Zard* for four years.

59. Dr. Maḥmūd Khān Afshār, the well-known editor of the *Āyanda*, has written some delightful poems of a sentimental nature. His views on the veiling of women are rather conservative. His Doctorate thesis, *La Politique Européenne en Perse*¹, affords a fair study of the European intrigues in Īrān.

60. The poems of Dāniṣh of Khurāsān express liberal and progressive ideas, bearing especially on the education and emancipation of women. That he is an advocate of the latter is evident from his poem entitled *Hadiyya-i Dāniṣh bi Dukhtarān-i Imrūz wa Mādarān-i Fardā* ("A Gift from Dāniṣh to the Daughters of To-day and Mothers of Tomorrow").

61. Rashīd-i Yāsīmī whose love and appreciation of nature may have been stimulated by his Gurānī blood, is noted for his successful versification of didactic stories and fables from European literature.

62. Rūḥānī is unsurpassed in his humour and wit. He has held up to ridicule the fashions and

¹ Published in Berlin, 1921.

² Published at Mashhad in A.H. 1314 (Solar) ; also *Sukhan*, ii, 135-39.

foibles of modern Iranian society. His topical humorous poems have a universal appeal.

63. Farrukh is a rising poet of Khurāsān whose *qaṣīda*, *Fath-i Dihlī*¹ ("The Conquest of Delhi"), written on Nādir Shāh's conquest of Delhi, is a notable achievement.

64. Frāmarzī is the editor of the monthly magazine, *Taqaddum*. His poems, mainly *ghazals* and *maṣnavīs*, are few but exquisite.

65. Ṣadr in his *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas*, cleverly deals with such new themes as *Ghurūr-i Millī*² ("National Pride") and *Kār—Kūshish*³ ("Labour and Effort").

66. The style of Nāṣih's *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas* is hackneyed, but his quatrains convey noble ideas. In their flowing smoothness, his poems bear comparison with those of 'Ibrat.

67. The animated songs' of Ḥusām-zāda are popular among the boy scouts of Īrān. He is one

¹ This poem was published in the *Āyanda*. The Editor of the *Āyanda* exhorted the poets of Īrān to immortalize the conquest of Nādir Shāh, particularly his Conquest of Delhi and the booty carried away by him from that city. It was declared that a prize would be awarded to the poet who would produce the best poem on the subject, composed in accordance with the conditions laid down in the *Āyanda*. In response to this, eminent poets like Bahār, Ṣurātgar, Nādirī and others sent in their poems which were published in the *Āyanda*. (Vide *Āyanda*, II, pp. 488, 571-74, 758-59, 840-55 and 895-904).

² *Sukhan*, ii, 261.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62.

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, 77-8; also *PPR.*, 227-31.

of those few poets who have introduced alternate rhyming in Persian poetry¹.

68. Sanā is delightful, though old-fashioned. He chiefly composes *ghazals* and quatrains.

69. Badī'ū'z-Zamān keeps to the *Turkistān* style, but the themes of such poems of his as *Guzārish-i Guzrān*² ("The Passing Show") describing the onslaught of the Greeks under Alexander the Great on the Iranians, '*Rāh-i Āhan*³' ("The Railway") and '*Īrān-i Dīrūz—Īrān-i Fardā*⁴' ("The Īrān of Yesterday and the Īrān of To-morrow") show that he is romantically-minded and not averse to new ideas and social reforms.

70. The emotional appeal of Pizhmān-i Bakhti-yārī is at once deep and personal. His poem *Qabr-i Man*⁵ ("My Tomb") shows that he had a very unhappy life.

71. The fame of Bīnā rests more on prose than on his poetry. He has introduced into poetry a number of new themes such as *Parvāna u Chirāgh-i Barq*⁶ ("The Moth and the Electric Light"), and *Tayyāra u 'Uqāb*⁷ ("The Aeroplane and the Eagle").

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 71-3; also *PPR.*, pp. 232-34.

² *PPR.*, pp. 187-94.

³ *Sukhan*, i, 33-34; also *PPR.*, pp. 184-86.

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, 35-37; *PPR.*, pp. 178J-84.

⁵ *Sukhan*, ii, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 221-22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

72. *Kinār-i Takht-i Jamshīd*¹ (By the side of Persepolis) and *Zīr-i Āsmān-i Bākh̄tar*² ("Under the Western Sky") are the two best pieces of Dr. Šūrātgar and form an antithesis, as the first of them was written in the native style and the other in the modern, after his stay in England, where he studied English poetry.

73. Falsafi's renown rests upon his happy renderings from Victor Hugo and Lamartine. He is still a young aspirant for poetic fame.

74. Adīb of Tūs is a composer of *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas* with didactic themes such as *Parda-i Sīnimā*³ ("The Cinema Screen") and *Īdiāl-i Kūdakī*⁴ ("The Ideal of Childhood").

75. Ḥabīb-i Yagh̄mā'i has produced only a few poems, but they are of sterling worth and marked by his individuality.

76. Aḥmadī Bakhtiyārī has used with success alternate rhyming which betrays a strong Western influence⁵.

77. *Shahriyār* has the keen insight of a poet. His poetic compositions are characterized by flowing rhythm, well-chosen diction and the choicest

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, pp. 264-65; also the weekly *Naw Bahār*, p. 474, No. 27 of A.H. 1341.

² *Sukhan*. ii, pp. 265-70; also the monthly *Mihr* Nos. 9-11 of the 2nd year.

³ *Sukhan*. ii, 27-28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

expressions. His poems *Rūḥ-i Parvāna*¹ ("The Soul of Parvāna"), *Āy Zan*² ("O Woman!") and *Dukht-i Dāryūsh*³ ("The Daughter of Darius") are full of feeling and pathos.

78. Sarmad, a young poet of great promise, has led the revolt against the conservative and conventional poetry of Persia. He is the best interpreter of the new spirit of the age. He composes all kinds of poetry and sometimes vies in style with Īraj Mirzā. *Banaṣṣha*⁴ ("The Violet"), *Āīna-i Falak*⁵ ("The Mirror of Firmament") and *Sukhan*⁶ ("Poetry") are some of his remarkable pieces.

79. Parvin-i I'tiṣāmī is a learned, thoughtful and successful poetess, whose poem *Safar-i Ashk*⁷ ("The Journey of Tears") is alone sufficient, in the estimate of Bahār⁸, to entitle her to a high place among the poets.

80. Jalilī is better known for his prose style than for his verse.

¹ *Sukhan*, ii, 248-50.

² Parvāna was an amiable singing girl, gifted with a charming and melodious voice. She was well-versed in music. She died of consumption in A.H. 1347/A.D. 1928. Pīzhmān has given the date of her death in the following chronogram:

وای پروانه سوخت

Alas! Parvāna (The Moth) is burnt.

³ *Divān-i Shahrīyār*, p. 28, Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar); also *Sukhan*, ii, 254.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 256-57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 206

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94; also *Divān-i Parīn*, p. 133, Tīhrān, A.H. 1354.

⁹ *Divān-i Parīn*, (Bahār's Foreword, p. 3), Tīhrān, A.H. 1354.

81. Ra'dī Āzarakḥshī is a promising young poet, capable of expressing good thoughts in a simple language.

82. Nuṣrat who belongs to the younger generation, is also a poet of great capacity.

*83. The poetess Jannat who writes her ghazals in imitation of old masters, is a princess of the blood¹. In painting, she is a pupil of the famous Kamālu'l-Mulk². She has been put last in the list as the date of her birth is not known.

This is but a very brief survey of the individual

¹To the above list one might be tempted to add these names: Abu'l-Ḥasan Khūn Jalva (A.H. 1238-1314/A.D. 1822-96), Muḥammad Bāqir Mīrzā Khusravī (A.H. 1266-1338/A.D. 1850-1919), Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī (A.H. 1270-1314/A.D. 1853-96), Mīrzā Naṣīru'd-Dīn Furṣat (A.H. 1271-1339/A.D. 1854-1920), Abū Naṣr Faṭḥullāh Khān Shaybānī (d. A.H. 1308/A.D. 1890-91), Shaykhu'r-Ra'īs Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān Mīrzā-yi Qājār Hayrat and Mīrzā Ḥabīb-i Iṣfahānī. Jalva and Shaybānī predeceased the Revolution. Khusravī, Furṣat and Hayrat belong rather to the old order. Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī and Ḥabīb-i Iṣfahānī are better known for their bold and powerful writings in prose. Besides them, there are some promising poets who have found mention in different memoirs like Muntakhabāt-i Āṣār by Muḥammad Ziyā Hashtrūdī, *Poets of the Pahlavi Régime* by D. J. Irānī, *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir* by Raṣḥīd-i Yāsīmī and *Gulhā-yi Adab* by Ḥusayn Khān Sa'adat-i Nūrī.

¹ She is the daughter of Prince Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Nayyaru'd-Dawla, a grandson of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh. Her mother was the daughter of Ḥājī Farḥād Mīrzā Mu'tamidu'd-Dawla, son of 'Abbās Mīrzā, the Crown-Prince, the eldest and favourite son of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh.

² Muḥammad Khān Ghaffārī, entitled Kamālu'l-Mulk (b. A.H. 1264/A.D. 1847-48) is a famous painter. His paintings sell at fabulous prices in European countries and decorate the walls of the Shāh's Palace and the Majlis. He became the Principal of the Arts College (*Madrasa-i Ṣanā'iyi-i Mustazrifa*) when it was founded in A.H. 1329/A.D. 1911 and retired in A.H. 1346/A.D. 1927.

characteristics of the poets and poetesses of Young Īrān. They all are the children of the same soil and belong to the same epoch. They may differ in the degree of their acceptance of the new principles of life and progress, but hardly any one of them could be mistaken for a representative of a previous epoch.

III

LANGUAGE

Change in language.

Among the changes which Persian poetry has undergone in recent years, one of the most important concerns the language in which the poems are written. The change has, however, taken place in the nature of words chosen to express the ideas of the poets. In former times, the poets of Īrān wrote in a language highly saturated with Arabic elements and almost entirely divorced from the spoken language, while words which had their origin in countries further afield than Īrān's immediate neighbourhood were rare. To-day the situation has changed under the influence of two movements. The first is a Purist movement, the sole aim of which is to eliminate Arabic elements traditionally connected with the former classical and theological learning. Paradoxically enough, the second movement runs counter to the first in that it readily borrows words from Western languages in order to make good the deficiency caused by the ban on Arabic terms, or to express new ideas and describe new facts for which no equivalents are available as yet in Persian vocabulary. But there is yet a third movement, namely, that of bringing the poetical language nearer to the

spoken idiom, and so of democratizing it and rendering it more intelligible to a far greater number of people. We shall deal with these three factors, one by one.

a) PURIST MOVEMENT

Influx of Arabic
words and
expressions

Since the Arab conquest of Īrān (A.D. 641-51) the Iranian civilization underwent a radical change due to Islamic influence in both religious and secular matters. It was in the process of adaptation to the new conditions that the influx of Arabic words and expressions into Persian took place. Numerous words for which there had been no satisfactory Persian equivalents were borrowed¹. The Iranian scholars of Arabic created the fashion of incorporating a large number of Arabic words and expressions into their language. Gradually a new Persian diction, highly saturated with Arabic elements, came into existence.

Beginning of the
Purist movement.

Although the vanquished Iranians accustomed themselves to their new conditions, their national spirit and antipathy towards the Arabs remained unchanged. Not before the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era did Īrān take advantage of the disintegration of the power of the Caliphate to emancipate herself from the control of the Abbasids and to reassert her political independence. Their nationalist zeal made

¹For the influx of Arabic words into Persian refer to *Tha'alibī's Fiqhū'l-Lughat*, Paris, 1861, pp 162-64 or Beirut, 1885, pp. 314-16.

possible the rise of the Purist movement, directed to ridding the language of all Arabic elements.

Purism in epic poems. It is impossible to fix a definite date for the beginning of this movement.

The first poetical work which has survived in its entirety is the *Shāhnāma*; it shows that Daqīqī¹ and Firdausī² attempting to write in purely Persian diction, have used Arabic words as sparingly as possible. About the middle of the eleventh century several other Iranian epics, commemorating the deeds of Garshāsp³, Burzū⁴ and Shahriyār⁵, were produced in close imitation of the *Shāhnāma*. While writing these epics in pure Persian, the poets combined nationalism in theme with nationalism in language.

¹ According to Nöldeke, 'Daqīqī seems to use Arabic words even more sparingly than Firdausī'. (Vide the English translation of Nöldeke's *Das Iranische Nationalepos* by L. Bogdanov, pp. 36-37, Bombay, 1930).

² Browne says that the usual proportion of Arabic words to Persian words used in the *Shāhnāma* is 4 or 5 per cent (Vide Browne's LHP., ii, 146, Cambridge, 1928).

³ The *Garshāsp-nāma* by 'Alī b. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Asadī was written about A.H. 456-58/A.D. 1064-66. Some of the passages are given by Macan in the appendix to the *Shāhnāma*, pp. 2099-2129. A large portion of the *Garshāsp-nāma* has found place in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā* (i, 110-39) of Rizā-qulī Khān Lalabāshī, poetically surnamed *Hidāyat*. C. Huart edited a part of the poem (2543 verses) with a French translation published by *L'Ecole des Langues Orientales* in 1926 under the title *Le Livre de Gerchāsp d'Asadī Junior de Tous*. In the same year Rashīd-i Yāsīmī published a selection from the poem under the title *Andarz-nāma-i Asadī*. Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī edited the whole poem which was published in a handy volume in A.H. 1317 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

⁴ The *Burzū-nāma* was written about the middle of the eleventh century and much of it has been reproduced by Macan. Kosengarten also published a part of the poem in the 5th volume of *Fundgruben des Orients* which Vullers later reproduced in his *Chrestomathia Shāhnāmeiana*.

⁵ The *Shahriyār-nāma* was composed in the time of Mas'ūd II of Ghazna (A.D. 1048).

Preservation of
Persian words

Another manifestation of Purism is found in the lexicons compiled by different writers. Asadī, the younger, who wrote the *Lughat-i Furs*¹, is the earliest known author in this category. In A.H. 757 (A.D. 1356) Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad Fakhri of Iṣfahān compiled a pure Persian lexicon, which forms the fourth part of the *Mi'yār-i Jamālī*². Another lexicon of this kind, the *Majma'u'l Furs*, better known as *Farhang-i Sarvarī*, was compiled by Ḥājī Muḥammad Qāsim of Kāshān, poetically surnamed *Sarvarī*, during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (A.D. 1587-1629)³.

Purism in historical
works

Occasionally attempts at Purism may even be discovered in some historical works like the *Ta'riḫ-i Jahāngushā-yi Jūraynī*⁴ (completed about A.D. 1260) and the *Tajziyatu'l-Amṣār va Tajziyatu'l-A'ṣār*, better known as *Ta'riḫ-i Vaṣṣāf*⁵ (completed and presented to Uljāytū in A.D. 1312). One may mention here a paragraph in the anonymous work *Naurūz-nāma*⁶

¹ The exact date of its compilation is not known. It was edited by Paul Horn and published in 1897, Berlin.

² Edited by Carolus Salemann under the title *Shams-i Fakhri Lexicon Persicum*, 1837, Kazan.

³ The movement seems also to have influenced the Iranian savants in the Mogul court of India. Jamālū'd-Dīn Husayn Injū b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Ḥasan of Shīrāz compiled a dictionary of purely Persian words with many poetical quotations. The work was commenced under Akbar and finished in A.H. 1017/A.D. 1603 under Jahāngīr after whom it has been named. It was lithographed at Lucknow in A.H. 1293/A.D. 1876-7.

⁴ See Introduction to Vol. III.

⁵ *I'ide* op. 106-7. Bombay edition of A.H. 1269/A.D. 1852-3.

⁶ Mr. M. Minovi who edited this work (published, Tīhrān, 1933), attri-

which, but for two Arabic words همت and هم, has also been written in pure Persian¹.

Even during the Qājār Period, Purist tendencies were manifest. Purism, as a *tour de force*, found its way into epistolary writing. The satirist poet Yaghmā² of Jandaq chose at times to write his letters in Persian, free from Arabic. The court tutor Rīzā-qulī Khān *Hidāyat*³ also made a valuable contribution in this direction by compiling a pure Persian lexicon *Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī*⁴. The founder of Bahā'ism, Bahāu'llāh⁵, wrote some *Alwāḥ* ("Epistles") addressed to Zoroastrians, without the admixture of Arabic. Two princes of the blood royal, Jalāl Mīrzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh (A.D. 1797-1834), and Hājī Abu'l-Ḥasan Mīrzā, commonly known as Shaykhu'r-Ra'īs, made similar contributions, the first by writing his *Nāma-i Khusravān*⁶ ("Book of Princes"), and the second by

butes to 'Umar Khayyām the authorship of this treatise written not long after the death of the great Seljūq Malikshāh (A.H. 465-85/A.D. 1072-92). But F. Gabrieli strongly refutes this view. See Gabrieli's article *Il Nawrūz-Nāmeḥ-e 'Omar Hayyām*, published in the *Annali de R. Istituto Superiore Orientale de Napoli*, vol. viii, June, 1936. Prof. V. Minorsky holds the same view as Gabrieli (*Encycl. of Islām*, vol. iii, pp. 986).

¹ *Nawrūz-nāma*, pp. 18-19.

² Born about A.D. 1782 and died in A.D. 1859.

³ Born A.H. 1215/A.D. 1800-1, died A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-2.

⁴ Lithographed at Ṭīhrān in A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-2.

⁵ Died in A.D. 1892.

⁶ It is a history of the pre-Islamic dynasties of Īrān, first published at Vienna in 1880 and reviewed by Mordtmann in the *ZDMG.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 506-8.

composing poetry in similar language. Even in India during the years 1883-86, Mīrzā Naṣru'llāh Khān Fidā'i entitled *Nawwāb Daulat-Yār-Jang Bahādur* wrote in pure Persian the *Dāstān-i Turk-tāzān-i Hind*, a history of the Muslim rulers of India¹. The two latest works to be mentioned in this connection are the *Parrāz-i Nigāriṣh-i Pārsī*, an epistolary manual, and the *Alif-bā-yi Bihruzī* on the reform of the Persian alphabet, by Mīrzā Rīzā Khān Bakishlū² of Qazvin, *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Iranian Embassy at Constantinople.

Purist movement in modern times

In modern times the Purist movement has become more militant and systematic. The poets and writers, influenced by the Western spirit of nationalism, have become strongly prejudiced against what they regard as the adulteration of Persian with Arabic words and expressions. Except for a few orthodox adherents of the classical style like *Amīrī*, *Qarīb* and *Hādī*, all the supporters of Purism, whether moderate or extremist, consider this movement to be of national importance³. It is worth noting here that during the period under review the Purist movement affected journalistic and dramatic writings for the first time.

¹ C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section II, Fasc. 3, pp. 490-1. London, 1939

² Bakishlū is a subdivision of the Afshār tribe.

³ Nationalist feeling is evident from the following verse of Āyatī:

بیا که پاک الغبایِ میرزا ایران را
ز عین قاف و ط و ط و صاد و ضاد کنیم

In 1916 Abu'l-Qāsim Khān Āzād of Marāgha started a bi-weekly magazine *Nāma-i Pārsī*¹ in pure Persian. Ephemeral as it was, it attracted several enthusiastic supporters. Āzād was followed by Āyatī who in 1929 began the publication of a monthly magazine *Namakdān* ("Salt-Cellar"), in which articles and poems in pure Persian regularly appeared under the heading *Fārsī-yi Sara*. Its publication was discontinued in 1935².

Zabīh-i Bīhrūz³ who was formerly attached to the University of Cambridge, considerably widened the scope of the movement by writing his drama "*Shāh-i Irān va Bānū-yi Arman*", an exquisite historical love story. Aḥmad Kisravī, though an Āzarbāyjān Turk, is another serious writer who has become interested in the movement. Through his articles, he has attracted to himself a faithful disciple in Hidāyatu'llāh Ḥakīm-i Ilāhī Faraydanī who has recently published a booklet in 'unadulterated'

Also Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān Nāṣiru'd-Dawla, poetically surnamed *Badr*, shares the same view :

چند از دیگر وام کنی جامه و دستار
رو جامه و دستار پدر را تو بدست آر

¹ No. 7 of this magazine dated the 18th Zī-qa'da, 1334, which I possess, has the following significant motto on the front page :

"نگهبان کشور زبان کشور است"

² Notice may be taken of the serial article in pure Persian by Āqā-yi 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, Hikmat, sometime Minister of Public Instruction, published in the official organ of the Ministry *Āmūzish u Parvarish*, Nos. 3-4, 7-8 and 9-10 of A.H. 1920 (Solar)/A.D. 1941-42.

³ He also translated from Arabic into pure Persian a portion of the *Adabul-Kabīr* of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', published under the title *Ā'in-i Buzurgī*.

The following lines of *Amīrī* in praise of the Prophet are not lacking in felicitous expression :

یگانه رادی کیش کردگار بهمت
گزیده است به پیغمبری و و خشوری
ز تنگبار خدائی به تیمسارِ حرد
رسید نامه که از وی گرفت دستوری
ز دار و برد سپاهش سپهر بُرد از یاد
شکوه چترِ کیانی و تیخت شاپوری¹

Singularly munificent (was he) whom the Incomparable Omnipotent chose for the prophetical office and apostolate ;

From the Inaccessible Court of the Almighty to the Lordly Genius came the Book whence he derived the Law ;

Seeing the might of his army, the heavens forgot the grandeur of the Kayānian canopy and Shāpūr's throne.

Of Āyati's poems published in the *Namakdān*² the following short variation on the subject, dear to Persian poets, may be quoted as a specimen :

زیان هر جا همانجا سود خیزد زهر جا آتش آید دود خیزد
درخت امروز آبستن شد از باد بفردا هم شود از باد نا زاد
چو باغ آباد شد از آب باران ز باران هم شود آن باغ ویران
جهان چون گربه ماند بی کم و بیش که زاید پس خورد خود بچۀ خویش

¹ *Divān-i Amīrī*, p. 509.

² *Namakdān*, p. 42, *Shahrīvar*, A.H. 1308 (Solar.)

Where there is loss there is profit, where there is
fire there is smoke ;

The gale that makes the tree bear fruit to-day ;
that very gale may destroy it to-morrow ;

As rain makes the garden fresh and green, so rain
alone may render it desolate ;

The world is like a tom-cat that begets and then
devours his own kittens.

'Abdu'l 'Azīm Khīn of Garakīn says in praise of
God :

بنام خدا داور داد پاک بدید آورد آدم از آب و خاک¹

In the name of God, the Administrator of impartial
justice, the Creator of Adam from water and dust.

Mirzā Hādī Khān Hā'irī has shown great ability
in this class of composition. His *qaṣīda* on autumn
entitled *Khizāniyya*, written in the style of Qā'ānī,
is full of graceful rhythm owing to its cæsuras.
Its opening verse (*maṭla'*) reads :

باز شد بدید، در جهان خزان، شد آهی ز برگ، شاخ گلستان
نو شکفته گل، از میان باغ، پشت پرده رفت، کرد رخ نهان²

The autumn has again appeared on earth, the
branches in the rose-garden have become leafless ;

The rose, new-blown in the middle of the garden,
has gone behind the curtain and hid its face.

Pūr-i Dāvūd has many poems, written in Persian,
devoid of Arabic³. In his poems, *Amshāspandān*,
written on June 20, 1920 in Berlin, he deploras the

¹ For the whole poem vide *Sukhan*, i, 222.

² *Sukhan*, ii, 411-13.

³ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeḥ*, poems Nos. 1, 35, 38, 39, 40 and 42, Bombay, 1928.

wretched condition of Īrān and her people thus :

دریغا که گلزارِ ما خار شد چراغِ فروزانِ ما تار شد
 بسی دور کشتیم ز آن روزگار فراموش شد بندِ آموزگار
 بایران ز بس کین و بیداد رفت جوانمردی و نیکی از یاد رفت
 نمانده جوی نام و ننکی بجای همه پست و تن پرور و سست پای^۱

Ah! our rose-garden has become (a bush of) thorns,
 our bright lamp has become dim;

Fallen far have we from those days, forgotten are
 the teachings of the Preceptor;

So intense has been the enmity and injustice in Iran,
 that manliness and virtue are forgotten;

Not a grain of our honour and fame remains intact,
 all have become mean, selfish and languid.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the spirit of nationalism has greatly assisted the popularity of this movement. Besides skilful and scholarly poets, many mediocre poet and writers, in pursuit of Purism, stuffed their compositions with many unfamiliar words. The Iranian Government realising the consequences of such chaos, have set up an official institution under the name *Farhangistān* (which is intended to be a translation of the European term 'Academy'), for the compilation of a standard lexicon of Persian. Booklets containing words approved by this Academy are published every year^۲.

^۱ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 73.

^۲ The latest issue (No. 7) comprises some 1,200 words and technical terms, coined, discussed and approved by the *Farhangistān* till the end of A.H. 1319 (Solar)/A.D. 1941.

b) EUROPEAN LOAN-WORDS

Influx of European
words and
phrases

A striking feature of the Modern Persian language is that a great many European words and expressions, especially French, have crept into it. They are used not only in conversation, but also in the written language—in both prose and poetry. This influx is not, however, due to the lack of resources of Persian vocabulary, which can still supply a sufficient fund of words to enable the Iranian poets and writers to express adequately their thoughts and ideas. Persian is, no doubt, lacking in new technical terms for the different branches of science; lacking as well in new expressions for abstract ideas which the needs and progress of time have called into being. The invention of new words and their affiliation are a slow and difficult process. The Persian writers avoided this course, as they found it easier to use European words when there was no Persian equivalent already in existence.

Channels of
influence of different
languages.

The European languages that have perceptibly affected Persian are Russian, English and French. The influence of the first two is insignificant, but that of French extensive. The channels through which the influx of European words has taken place are :

(i) A few Russian words came in owing to Russia's proximity to and commercial relations with Īrān through the latter's north and north-western

frontier provinces, namely, Gīlān and Āzarbāyjān. The Muslim subjects of Russia who came from the Caucasus and Bākū as traders or drivers of horses brought with them words like *iskinās*¹, *girvānka*², *pūt*, *varshaw*³, *istikān*, *sūkhārī*, *samāvar*, *mushtuk*⁴, *kāliska*, *drushka*, *gunūt*, etc. Writers in Persian who lived in Russian territories like Mīrzā Fath 'Alī Ākhūndoff, Hājj Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff and Ja'far-i Khāmana'ī are also responsible for the introduction of Russian words into Persian. Ṭāliboff called X-rays *iks-lūchhā*, where the word *lūch* is Russian and means 'ray.'

(ii) English words penetrated into Persian during the period of British influence over southern parts of Īrān, such as Fārs, Khūzistān, Kirmān and Īsfahān. Among English words that came into vogue in Persian are *Ardalī* (Orderly), *Vāgūn* (Wagon), *Būy-Iskā'ūt* (Boy Scout), *Fūtbāl* (Football), *Gūl* (Goal), *Lāt* (Lot), *Bā'ikūt* (Boycott), *Kūp* (Cup), *Panchar* (Puncture), etc.

(iii) French words began to infiltrate into Persian in the middle of the nineteenth century when Persian travellers began to visit the capital of the Second Empire. The introduction of French into the syllabus of the higher and middle schools, and the activity

¹ From *assignatsia*, i.e., bank-note. In Russian the word died out in the sixties of the nineteenth century.

² This must be a pretty old loan-word, for in modern Russian it has a different meaning ("10 copecks") and not ("a pound").

³ From Russian *Varshava*, a white-metal plate from Warsaw.

⁴ From Russian *Munshtuk* (from Ger. *Mundstück*, a mouthpiece), a cigarette-holder.

of the French teachers invited to teach European sciences at the *Dāru'l-Funūn*¹ in Tīhrān, are further responsible for the popularity of French words. After the Great War thousands of young Iranians were trained in France in various branches of Science and Art. French has become the second language with the cultured class. This infiltration of French words into Persian is still in progress². French words and expressions used in Persian will be found at the end of the chapter³. As for the manner of their infiltration:—

(a) Some were borrowed because the ideas to which they referred were unknown in Īrān; e.g., پارلمان، کابینه، کسیون، پارتی، اونیورسیتہ، آکادمی، فاکولتہ.

Compare the word پارلمان, used by Ashraf of Gilān in the following line:

بہارستان پر از مشک تباراست فضای پارلمان ہم عطر باراست

Also the words کابینہ and پارتی used by 'Ishqī in the verse:

بے اعتنا بہیئت کابینہ فلک

کردیدہ ام کہ پارتی ام یک ستارہ نیست

(b) Some came in along with new things; e.g., سنیم، تمر، آیروبلان، ماشین، گرامافون، تلفون، تلگراف، فکل.

¹ This Polytechnic College was founded during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār in 1851.

² A Persian-French dictionary in verse (*Dictionnaire poétique de la langue Persane—Française*) was written by Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān Mu'allifu'd-Dawla and lithographed at Tīhrān in A.H. 1320/A.D. 1902-3. This work which consists of 261 pages was dedicated to Dūst 'Alī Khān I'tiṣāmu's-Saltāna.

³ See pp. 52 et seqq. *infra*.

Compare the use of the word فُکَل by Bīnīsh :

با چنین کردن بود تنگم فکلهای فراخ
کهکشانشان بندم مگر جای فکل برگردم

Also Adīb-i Tūsi's use of the word سِنِیَا in the following line :

يك بدر آید دگری در شود ز چشم
زانکه جهان پرده اسرار سنیاست

(c) Some bear traces of visits paid to Europe by the aristocracy and the merchants, e g ,

كلوپ، تون، فابريك، هتل، كافه، دستران، تياتر.

Īraj uses كلوپ and هتل in the following line :

در كلوپها نتوان كرد همه وقت نشاط
در هتلها نتوان برد همه عمر بسر

Compare also the use of the word فابريك by Yāsā'ī in :

تاريك شد ابن فضا بدود فاريك آباد شد اين معادن شادي

(d) Many came into the language on account of laziness and snobbishness on the part of poets and writers, such as کلاس، لوکس، شیک، مَرَسِي، پروگرام،

پارازيت، شارلانان.

Compare Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī's use of the word پارازيت in the verse :

هر که پارازيت و تنبل ميشود بايست كشت
آري از تن خون فاسد را برون بايست كرد

Or the use of the word شارلاتان by Iraj in :

تماماً حقّه باز و شارلاتانند بهر جا شر چه باش افتاد آند

(e) Words and expressions intentionally used as a caricature of (c) or on account of their 'exotic' character or through affectation, such as مسبو، دانش، داندو، کراوات، شیک، باناسکه، فکل، بونسوار etc.

For instance, the pun on the French word 'Madame' in the following verse by Shaykhu'r-Ra'is is charming :

ما دام تو کشته بهر ما دام دل در پی دام تست ما دام

Another short humorous poem by Shaykhu'r-Ra'is *Hayrat* in which French words have been introduced in an elegant manner, is :

دیشب صنمی تازه زنی شهره یاریس
عشق کهن مارا از مهر نوی داد
با مجلسیان گفت که سرویتّر من کیست
اول دل من پاسخ اورا ژسوی داد
چون دید که اشکم رود از دیده چو باران
از زلف بدست من پاراپلوی داد¹

In this poem, the words ژسوی، سرویتّر and پاراپلوی are the French *serviteur* (servant), *je suis* (I am) and *parapluie* (umbrella). A free rendering of the verses into English is given below :

¹ Husayn Pizhmān, *Bihtārīn-i Ash'ār*, p. 116, Tihārūn, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35.

Last night a charming girl, well known in Paris, with blooming cheeks renewed our old love ;

Addressing the people in the assembly, she asked, " Who is my servant ? " First my heart responded to her, " It is I ! "

When she saw that tears poured forth from my eyes like rain, she lent me her tresses to serve as an umbrella.

Also the following charming lines by Dānīsh, of Ṭīhrān may be quoted :

برفته است سوری دو ماهی فرانس
ز صنعت نیاموخته غیر دانس
زبانی نداند مگر گوید او
کُمان تالِ وو و کُمانِ پُرتِ وو¹

Sūrī has been to France for two months (and) has learnt no other art but dancing,

He knows not the language but speaks (only), " *Comment allez vous* " and " *Comment portez vous.* "

In this stanza کُمان تالِ وو، دانس and کُمانِ پُرتِ وو

stand for *danse* (dance), *comment allez vous* (how are you?) and *comment portez vous* (how do you do?)

In the following verse Ashraf uses the word فکل as a caricature of his Westernized countrymen :

فقط عینک است وفکل مایه من فرنگی مآبم فرنگی مآبم

¹ Dānīsh-i Ṭīhrānī, Divān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī, p. 169, Ṭīhrān, A.H. 1317 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

My eye glasses and false collar are my only assets, I'm
the lover of European manners.

It may not be out of place to mention here that Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī in his *Kitāb-i Rizwān*¹, a collection of stories in prose, interspersed with poetry in the style and imitation of the *Gulistān*, has a story in which the French words have been used freely². Īraj Mīrzā also has shown his skill in a poem of this kind: its nine verses contain twenty well-chosen French words comfortably accommodated in it³.

Poets who helped
the influx

Names of the poets who have
made use of European words and
expressions may be enumerated in Persian alphabetical order as follows:—

Abu'l-Hasan Mīrzā Shaykhu'r-Ra'is, poetically surnamed Hayrat, Akhgar, Adīb-i Tūsī, Ashraf, Amīrī, Īraj, Bahār, Bīnīsh, Ḥabīb, Dānīsh-i Khurāsānī, Dihkhudā, Dihqān, Rūḥānī, Spentā, Sarmad, 'Ārif, 'Ishqī, 'Atā, Farrukh, Farrukhī, Qulzum, Kasmā'i, Lāhūtī, Māyil, Majdī, Masrūr, Munīr, Nādirī, Nīshāt, Vahīd, Hādī, Yāsā'i and Yaktā, among whom Ashraf, Īraj, Hayrat, Rūḥānī, 'Ishqī, Bahār and 'Ārif may be mentioned in order of merit to claim special attention. There are besides several others who make use of European words in their

¹ Vide Catalogue of Oriental MSS belonging to Browne, p. 283. No. x. II (9), Cambridge, 1932.

² Pp. 59-60 of the MS

³ *Sukhan*. i. 30.

2. *Administrative*

| | |
|-----------|---------|
| Bureau | بودو |
| Carton | کارتُن |
| Dossier | دوسیه |
| Note | نُت |
| Punaise | پوِنز |
| Pince | پنْس |
| Numéro | نمره |
| Paraphe | پاراف |
| Chemise | شمیز |
| Agent | آژان |
| Personnel | پرسنل |
| Police | پلیس |
| Courier | کوریه |
| Juriste | ژورِست |
| Gendarme | ژاندارم |

3. *Military*

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| Bombardement | بِمباردمان |
| Bombe | بُمب |
| Front | فرونت |
| Général | ژنرال |

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Chauffeur | شوفر |
| Tank (E) | تانک |
| Hélice | هلیس |
| Wagon (E) | واگون |
| Télégraphe | تلگراف |
| Droshki (R) | درشکه |
| Kaliaska (R) | کالسکه |
| Vorshava (R) | ورشو |

5. Educational

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| Université | اونیورسیتیه |
| Faculté | فاکولته |
| Diplôme | دیپلم |
| Licencié | لیسانسه |
| Gymnastique | جیمناستیک |
| Conférence | کنفرانس |
| Classe | کلاس |
| Programme | پروگرام |
| Académie | آکادمی |

6. Economical

| | |
|----------|--------|
| Lira (I) | لیره |
| Million | میلیون |

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| Famille | فامیل |
| Parasite | پارازیت |
| Luxe | لوکس |
| Terreur | تور |
| Salon | سالون |
| Pose | پُز |
| Rendezvous | راندوو |
| Idéal | ایده آل |
| Ball | بال |
| Bal Masqué | بالماسکه |
| Club | کلوب |
| Boulevard | بلوار |
| Hotel | هتل |
| Pique-nique | پکنیک |
| Bonjour | بونژور |
| Bonsoir | بونسوار |
| Monsieur | موسیو |
| Merci | مرسی |
| Fanatique | فنائیک |
| Douche | دوش |

Mode مد

Jeune fille moderne ژون فی مَدُون

12. Dress

Cravate کراوات

Faux-col فُکُل

Crêpe کِرِب

Georgette ژورژ

Jersey ژرسه

Voile ووال

Cotte کُت

13. Arts

Théâtre تِیَاتر

Tableau تابلو

Antique آنتیک

Musée موزیه

Canvas کَنوا

Cirque سِرک

Roman رُمان

Acteur آکتر

Pièce پِس

standardized type prevailed in Persian literature and very little prose was written. The drama and novel as literary forms, which in European literature have been chiefly responsible for the introduction of the spoken idiom, were unknown to the Iranians, while all prose works, with the exception of a few recent ones, were written in the traditional style. Prior to the Revolution, this change was foreshadowed in the prose writings of Mīrzā Ja'far Qarāja-dāghī, Mīrzā Malkom Khān, Hājī Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff, Mīrzā Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī and a few others whose works are simple, yet do not contain any colloquialism or slang. If we exclude some older satirists and facetiae writers¹, the poets, who in later times struck more popular notes,

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| In near future | در آئنده نزدیک |
| On the other hand | از طرف دیگر |
| On this ground or on this subject | در این زمینه |
| Present year | سال حاضر |
| Permit me | اجازه بدهید |
| Shake hands | دست دادن - دست فشاردن |
| My feelings and sentiments | احساسات من |
| Generous feelings or sentiments | احساسات جوادانه |
| Broke the silence | سکوت را در هر شکست |
| Reminiscence | خاطره |
| Finally, last of all | بالاخره |
| Do you permit me to smoke ? | اجازه میدهید یک سیگار بکشم |

¹ Like Sūzanī (d. A.H. 569/A.D. 1173-74), 'Ubayd-i Zākānī (d. circa A.H. 772/A.D. 1370), Bushaq-i Aṭ'ima (d. 1416) and Yaghmā (d. 1859).

mostly wrote in provincial dialects, e.g., Mullā Ṣādiq Rajab of Iṣfahān¹ and Mīrzā Qāsim Adīb of Kirmān². All these works were of a sporadic nature, yet the fact remains that if literature neglects the spoken idiom, it loses touch with the vital forces of social life, especially in periods of revolution. Since the Revolution of 1906, political and social movements of all kinds have opened up new avenues for writers, both of prose and poetry, and although the general literary style has been little affected, the employment of the living language has become more conspicuous.

Different branches of literature as vehicles of colloquialism.

To estimate the magnitude and importance of the third movement, namely, of democratizing the written language, it may be worth while reviewing the different branches of Persian literature into which colloquial Persian is being introduced by modern writers in the writing of drama, novel, newspapers and periodicals, as well as of poetry.

The drama.

Most of the pre-Revolution dramatic works are translations from English, French or Āzarbāyjān Turkish. Nāṣiru'l-Mulk Nā'ibu's-Saltāna translated Shakespeare's *Othello* into simple modern Persian, which was

¹ His *divān* of poems in the Iṣfahān dialect has been published.

² Mīrzā Qāsim Adīb's *Khāristān* written in the Kirmān dialect was published at Kirmān in A.H. 1330/A.D. 1911-12. A collection of Kirmānī colloquial terms and expressions arranged in alphabetical order, with their meaning, has been appended to it.

staged only in A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35. Much more interesting are the independent plays of the Armenian Malkom Khān who represented Īrān at the Court of St. James's from 1872 to 1889. He wrote three plays, Ashraf Khān, Zamān Khān and Shāh-qulī Mīrzā, partly published as a *feuilleton* in the *Ittihād* of Tabriz¹. In the post-Revolution period several playwrights have contributed to the development of the stage art. Āqā Zabih-i Bihrūz, formerly of the University of Cambridge, carried on the Malkom tradition in his satirical *Jijak 'Alī Shāh* and the historical *Shāh-i Īrān ra Bānū-yi Arman*, both of which have since been published. Hasan Muqaddam 'Alī Nawrūz, educated in Europe, wrote his comedy *Ja'far Khān az Firang Āmada*² in the popular language, ridiculing the superficial Europeanization of his young compatriots who lost contact with their own country. The play was first staged in 1922 at the Grand Hotel in Tīhrān by the *Īrān-i Javān* club. The republican 'Ishqī wrote the patriotic *Rastākhīz* ("The Resurrection") and the social *Tiyātr-i Qurbān 'Alī Kāshī*, popularly known as *Bachcha-i Gadā* ("The Beggar Boy"). The development of this form of literature has received the approval of numerous other writers, such as Āyatī, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khalkhālī, Sa'id-i Nafīsī, Ṣādiq-i

¹ They were published in a book form by the *Kāriyāni* Press in Berlin, A.H. 1340/A.D. 1921-22.

² The French translation *Le Cahier Persan* was published at Alexandria (Egypt) in 1926, as the first instalment of the series "Messages d'Orient".

Hidāyat and Muġtabā Minovī¹. It is interesting to note that several dramatic clubs and companies have been started in Ṭihrān², and these are likely to give an impetus to the use of popular idiom. More than a hundred dramatic works have so far been written and staged.

The Novel.

Popular and poetic stories have been great favourites at all times and the art of narration has always been greatly appreciated. Modern novels, however, with their realistic tendencies, represent a new epoch in Persian literature. Here, too, the movement began with translations from French. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā, a prince of the blood royal, was the first writer to translate into Persian Alexandre Dumas's *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, *La Reine Margot*, *Louis XIV* and *Louis XV*. Yūsuf-i I'tiṣāmī, father of the well-known poetess Parvīn, translated Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. *Yakī būd u Yakī nabūd*³ of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzādeh (published in 1922) ushered in a new epoch with its democratic tendencies, its choice of themes and deliberate use of words from popular language. Rashīd-i Yāsīmī has mentioned in his *Adabiyāt-i*

¹ For a more complete list of drama writers, refer to Rashīd-i Yāsīmī's *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, pp. 131-32, Ṭihrān, A.H. 1316 (Solar)/A.D. 1937-38.

² Jāmi'a-i Bārbad, Jamī'at-i Nakīsā, Klūb-i Firdausī, Kānūn-i Ṣan'atī, *Shirkat-i Kumīdi-yi Ikḥvān* and others.

³ The author himself has supplied in the appendix a glossary of three hundred and seventy-eight slang words and expressions.

*Mit'asir*¹, more than a hundred writers who have contributed to this movement. Among them, Muḥammad Mas'ūd-i Dihātī, Mīr Muḥammad Hījāzī, 'Abdu'l-Husayn Ṣan'atizāda, Ṣādiq-i Hidāyat, Sa'id-i Naḥṣī and the late Jahāngīr-i Jalīlī deserve special mention.

The newspapers
and periodicals

To meet the rapidly growing public demand, numerous comic and satirical periodicals were started. The lead was given by

'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān Maṭīnu's-Saḥāna, a member of the second Majlis under whose editorship the first illustrated comic weekly, the *Ṭulū'* ("The Dawn"), appeared at Bushire in A.H. 1318/A.D. 1900-1. By 1907, public interest in this kind of literary effort seems to have attained its height, when six comic papers² appeared in Ṭīhrān, Tabriz and Rasht. A list of the earlier periodicals of this category may be found in Rabino's *Ṣūrat-i Jarā'id-i Īrān* and Browne's well-known work—*The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*. Amongst the recent papers and periodicals that gave literary currency to the spoken idiom were the *Nāhīd* of Ṭīhrān, the *Ṣadā-yi Iṣfahān*, the *Nasīm-i Ṣabā* of Ṭīhrān, the *Gul-i Zard* of Ṭīhrān, the *Tawfīq* of Ṭīhrān, the *Āgāhī* of Maṣḥad and the *Ummīd* of Ṭīhrān, of which the

¹ See p. 110

² The *Āzarbāyjān* from Tabriz, the *Āgāhī* ("The Information"), the *Tanbīh* ("The Admonition") and the *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl* ("The Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl") from Ṭīhrān, and the *Nasīm-i Ṣumāl* ("The North Breeze") from Rasht.

first, the fourth and the last were important¹. All of these are now defunct. The *Ummīd* ("Hope") existed for seven years until A.H. 1355/A.D. 1936. Many poets under false *pen-names*² contributed poems in spoken idiom to this paper.

Poetry. In such surroundings, poetry could not help being influenced by the tendencies of the age. As early as the nineties of the last century, Taqī Dānīsh of Tīhrān in his gastronomic poems forming the *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, took up the line of Bushāq-i Aṭīma; famous for the wealth of his culinary vocabulary. The following verses of Dānīsh that are full of kitchen terms, are quoted as a specimen :

بار دگر الها بادم گشا بشیراز
کای کردگار باری بالک پلو خورم باز
از آبها سبکتر دکنی و آب زندگی است
پس صبح دوپایزه پس شامگه شش انداز³

¹ The names of the editors of the respective papers are Ibrāhīm Nāhīd, Muḥammad 'Alī Mukram, Ḥusayn-i Kūhī, Yaḥyā Raiḥān, Ḥusayn Tawfīq, Āgāhī and Āqā-yi Ittīḥād.

² After tedious enquiries I succeeded in discovering the real names and pen-names of some of the poets which are given below :

| False Takhalluṣ | Names | Real Takhalluṣ |
|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Ajinnah | Sayyid Ghulām Rizā | Rūḥānī |
| Salandar | Muḥammad 'Alī | Nāṣiḥ |
| Ibn-i Jinnī | 'Abbās Khān | Furāt |
| Qalandar | Abu'l-Qāsim | Zawqī |
| Shāh-i Pariyūn | Bayūg | Mu'ayyirī. |

³ *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, pp. 79-80, Tīhrān, A.H. 1317 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

In the wake of the Revolution the introduction of spoken idiom into poetry became more and more conspicuous. In 1907, the *Šūr-i Isrāfīl*, the *Nasīm-i Šimāl* and other comic papers were started, in which articles and poems, written in colloquial style, were a regular feature. The editor of the second journal, Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn, in particular, displayed this tendency. His poems have been collected and published in a book form under the title *Bāgh-i Bihišt*¹. The following are the opening lines of a poem abounding with slang, which appeared in the issue of the *Nasīm-i Šimāl* dated May 11, 1908:

تا کله شیخنا ملنگ است تا در دل ما غبار و زنگ است
تا پیردلیل مست و منگ است تا رشته بدست این دبنگ است
این قانله تا بحشر لنگ است²

The following is a free verse rendering by Browne:

While addled is our reverend master's pate,
And dust and rust our spirits obfuscate,
And drunk and dizzy's he who guides our fate,
And this old humbug still directs our gait
Needs must our caravan be lame and late!³

About the same time Īraj Mirzā, a scion of the Qājār dynasty, went much further in his attempts to maintain the natural flow of everyday speech. The following verses, which form a part of his reasoning

¹ Printed and published by the Kalīmiyān Press, Tīhrān, A.H. 1348/A.D. 1929-30.

² *Bāgh-i Bihišt*, pp. 198-99, Tīhrān, A.H., 1338/A.D. 1919-20.

³ Tr. by Browne, see PPM., p. 195.

with women about the absurdity of the veil, show his characteristic simplicity :

بقربات مگر سیری؟ پیازی؟ که توی بغچه و چادر نمازی
تو مرآت جمال ذوالجلالی چرا مانند شاغم در جوالی
سروته بسته چون در کوجه آئی تو خانمجان نه بادمجان مائی
بدان خوبی در این چادر کریمى هر چیزی بجز انسان شبیهی¹

Be I sacrificed for thee ! art thou a garlic or an onion
that thou art wrapped up in a bundle and a prayer
scarf²;

Thou art the mirror of the beauty of the Lord of
Glory, why art thou like a turnip in a sack ?

How out thou comest in the street covered head to
foot ! thou art our beloved lady and not an egg-
plant;

With all those charms thou hast, thou lookest ugly in
the veil, thou resemblest anything but human being.

In 1911, Mīrzā Taqī Bīnīsh Āq-evlī began to
publish humorous poems, full of colloquialisms.
They appeared in the *Buhlūl* under the heading
Laṭā'if u Zārā'if. Later on, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ja'far
Ḥasrat-zāda Pāzārgādī³, poetically surnamed *Surūd*,
regularly contributed poems in the common tongue
to the *Shīrāz* weekly *Zarīf* which continued its exist-
ence for three years only. A collection of his poems
was published in A.H. 1337/A.D. 1918-19 under the

¹ *Divān-i Īraj*, pt. ii, p. 25, Tīhrān, A.H. 1309 (Solar)/A.D. 1930-31.

² *Chādur-Namāz* is a sheet put on by ladies in Īrān while saying
prayer.

³ A Francized *nisba* derived from the Herodotian *Pasargadæ*.

name *Ghuncha-i Khandān* ("The Smiling Bud"). Simplicity and common colloquial expressions are keynotes in the poetry of Afsar who wrote didactic poems in a humorous vein. His poems were published at Shīrāz in A.H. 1351/A.D. 1932-33, under the name *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*¹. Then came the powerful 'Ishqī who, with the idea of evoking public interest in social and political reforms, began to write his poems in a manner appealing to the masses. The following introductory verses of a *mustazād*, in which he upbraids the fourth *Majlis*, may be quoted as specimen of his style :

این مجلسِ چارم بخدا ننگِ بشر بود دیدی چه خبر بود
هر کار که کردند ضرر دوی ضرر بود دیدی چه خبر بود²

Numerous other poets, such as Rūḥānī, Nāṣiḥ, Furāt, Zawqī and Mu'ayyirī, have written for the people in the language of the people. A collection of Rūḥānī's humorous poems has been published under the name *Divān-i Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūḥānī*. Only a short poem, which is humorous but didactic, is cited below :

من رند ولا ابالی و مستم دلی دلی بیعانه نوش و بادیه پرستم دلی دلی
دیشب ز بادیه توبه نمودم خدا خدا امشب دوباره توبه شکستم دلی دلی
تا در قمار پای نهادم امان امان دارائیم برفت ز دستم دلی دلی³

¹ His complete *divān* is now under publication.

² *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 183, Tīhrān, A.H. 1303 (Solar)/A.D. 1929-30.

³ *Divān-i Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūḥānī*, pp. 57-58, Tīhrān, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35; also *Sukḥan*, i, 119-20.

Here is a typical list of colloquial words and expressions in common usage, met with in the writings of modern poets :—

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| آجیل و ماجیل | Nuts |
| أخم - اخمو | Of sullen countenance |
| الدنگ | Stupid |
| بامبول | Trick |
| برك | Decoration |
| بور | Disappointed |
| بكر | Downcast |
| بك و پوز | Appearance |
| تالی زدن | To while away time |
| تنبك | Drum |
| آو | In |
| تیمچه | A roofed passage |
| جفت و كلك | Plot, intrigue, trickery |
| جفنگ | Nonsense |
| جیغ | Shriek |
| چاپیدن | To plunder |
| چار سوق | Cross-road |
| چپاول | Inroad |

| | |
|------------|--|
| چپو | Plunder |
| چرت | Slumber |
| چرند | Idle talk |
| چطو | How |
| چك زدن | To slap |
| چوش | Wild |
| حرف مفت | Nonsense, useless |
| خانهای | Sister |
| خرخر | Snoring |
| خوشگل | Pretty |
| داس | Brother |
| ددر | Lane |
| دك كردن | To get rid of |
| دمدمی | Fickle-minded |
| دَمَر | To lie on the stomach |
| دُوز و كاك | Intrigue, trickery |
| دوغ | Reckless |
| دیشو | Bearded |
| ژرنگ | Smart |
| شب چره | Nuts, sweets or fruits offered after dinner at a social |

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| شَلَبَنگ زدن | To hop |
| شَاوُغ | Tumult |
| شَنگ | Jolly |
| شَنگُول | Beautiful |
| طاس | Completely bald |
| عَبَّاسِ دُوس | A greedy fellow |
| عَبَّاسی کردن | To be greedy |
| عَرَبْدَه بازی | Effrontery, rowdiness |
| غَلغل نمودن | To bubble |
| فَسْفَس | Inert |
| قُرُقُر | Grumbling |
| قَمِیز | Bragging |
| قو طی | Box . . |
| کَتَنک | Beating |
| کِچ و چوله | Crooked |
| کَرک | Down (fine short hair) |
| کَشک | Meaningless |
| کَلبَتَره | Irrelevant |
| کَلَمَبه | Bombastic |
| کردن کُلفت | Thick-necked, rude, arrogant |

| | |
|----------|--------------------------|
| کُنده | Bulky |
| کول زدن | To trick |
| لات واوت | Penniless |
| لاس زدن | To flirt |
| لبو | Cooked beetroot |
| لُج کردن | To show obstinacy |
| لک زدن | To make scandals |
| لوس | Pampered |
| ماچ | Kiss |
| ملندوغ | Insolent |
| ملنگ | Tipsy |
| منکنه | Press machine |
| میخاد | He wants |
| ناجور | Heterogeneous |
| نمیشه | It will not be |
| نمیگه | He doesn't say |
| نه نه | Mother, old maid-servant |
| والیدن | To stretch, to lie down |
| ول کردن | To let go, to leave |
| ولگرد | Vagabond |

ولنگار Vain talker

هچل Impasse, blind alley

هوچی Agitator

يارو Chap, fellow

يللى خواندن To hum indolently

يواش Slowly

Preservation of
folk-lore.

Owing to the growing interest of
the public in the literature written

in popular idiom, several writers proceeded with the task of resuscitating and preserving folk tales, rustic songs and lullabies. Āqā-yi Kūhī has published the *Chahārdah Afsāna* ("Fourteen Folk Tales"), and the *Tarānahā-yi Millī* ("National Tetrastichs") and *Haft Šad Tarāna* ("Seven Hundred Provincial Tetrastichs"). Šādiq-i Hidāyat's *Awšāna*, published in A.H. 1350/A.D. 1931-32, is another interesting collection of rustic songs and lullabies, some of which have been translated into French by Henri Massé in his *Croyances et Coutumes Persanes*, published in Paris in 1938¹.

A beginning was likewise made in the collection of colloquial words and expressions from different dialects. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzādeh, now attached to the International Labour Office at Geneva, is a great exponent of the spoken idiom. He

¹ Vide vol. ii, pp 491-99.

has completed a dictionary of colloquialisms and slang entitled *Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Avāmāna*, which is ready for the press. Mention may be made of another young writer, Āqa Ghulām Ḥusayn Muḥta-shim who is preparing a rhymed glossary ("*Niṣāb*") of such words and phrases. Some of the introductory verses are quoted below :

گوش کن ای عزیز این اشعار تا بکار آیدت که گفتار
بس لغت‌های عامی و ساده اندرین جزوه جمع افتاده
"اشغال" است خرده ریز کثیف آید از بوی بد نائی "پیف"
"اخم" درهم کشیدن صورت "ارقه" شد تا درست و بی‌غیرت

As time went on, the tendency attracted official attention and the Advisory Board of the Ministry

Resolution of the
Ministry of Public
Instruction.

of Public Instruction of Īrān resolved that a collection of words and phrases from current dialects, folk-tales and folk-songs, peculiar to each province of Īrān, should be prepared¹. It was under the auspices of this Ministry that the popular poems collected by Āqā Ḥusayn-i Kūhī was published in A.H. 1357/A.D. 1938.

Part played by
gramophone.

It is interesting to note that in recent years gramophone records²

¹ Vide the *Ta'lim u Tarbiyyat*, the former monthly organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Farvardīn-issue of A.H. 1315 (Solar). p. 8, item 7.

² As for example, the *qit'a*, of which the opening verses are :

کلفتی آورده خانم تو خونه پیش خانم هست در دونه
لاغر و مسردنی و بی جوته ایدش خوبه که زلفش آلا گارسونه

have assisted the movement in increasing the circulation of this type of poems and the language in which they are written.

The examples quoted above show that the use of a simpler style, punctuated by some expressive colloquial words, is gradually breaking up the too rigid forms of Classical Persian. From the clouds of abstract mystical ideas, Modern poetry descends to earth and becomes earthy ; while it loses some of its former grandeur, it becomes more intelligible to the masses, whose level of literacy is meanwhile daily rising.

Also the *Taṣnīf* that begins with :

میگذشتم شبی زیر بازارچه گلبنده
چشمم افتاد و دیدم زنی را بنزیر عینک

IV

METRES

Iran had her poetry long before the adoption of the Arabic laws of metre and versification. A commendable tradition of religious poetry is embodied in the *Gāthā*s that form the most ancient and holy portion of the *Avesta*. These hymns certainly obey some definite laws of rhythm and cadence. According to Moulton, 'Verse in the Avesta depends only on the numbering of syllables and the placing of the Cæsura'¹. In his *Early Persian Poetry*, Prof. Jackson observes: 'The *Gāthā* metres are of seven types'². Even apart from them, metrical stanzas are found in the *Yashts* and in other parts of the *Avesta* as well³.

Non-existence of poetry during the Achaemenian period improbable.

No specimen of the poetic production of the Achaemenian period has come down to us. A vocabulary of a few hundred words is preserved in the

¹ J. H. Moulton, *Early Persian Poetry of Iran*, p. 17, Cambridge, 1911.

² A. V. Williams Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 4, footnote 2, New York, 1920.

³ According to Pūta Dāvid's computation, the total number of metrical stanzas in the *Avesta* is 278 (=1016 lines) out of which 218 stanzas (=836 lines) belong to the *Gāthā* alone. (See Pūta Dāvid, *The Gāthā of Zarathushtra*, p. 67, Persian Introduction et p. 43, English translation by D. J. Irani, Bombay, 1927.

Persian cuneiform inscriptions¹. But considering the wonderful architectural monuments and the high artistic conceptions of the Achæmenian times, it seems improbable that the poetic genius of the Iranians was then dormant. Though Friedrich's attempt to prove the metrical character of the Achæmenian inscriptions cannot be considered conclusive², the writings of Xenophon³ and Chares of Mytilene⁴ go to show that minstrel poetry did exist during that period.

Existence of verse in Sasanian times. The names of the minstrels Sarskash⁵, Bārbud⁶ and Nakisā and the names of the various Iranian melodies⁷ as recorded in different dictionaries indicate that poetry thrived at the court of the Sasanians. Attempts have been made to prove the existence of metrical lines in Pahlavi literature. Dr. F. C. Andreas claims to have

¹ According to Darmesteter, not much more than 400 separate words (See *Etudes Iraniennes*, i, 7). Since then some more inscriptions containing other words have been discovered. Vide F. H. Weissbach's article 'The Old Persian Inscription' translated from German into English by Rev. D. Mackichan, pp. 672-705 of the *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, mbay, 1930. See also J. M. Unvala's Engl. trans. of the great inscription on Darius's Palace at Susa and several smaller ones described by Herzfeld.

² *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1928, cols. 238 et seqq.

³ Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, 1, 3, 10.

⁴ Vide Yonge's Engl. trans. of Chares' *History of Alexander*, 3, 919-920, London, 1854.

⁵ Vide Prof. A. Christensen's article 'La Vie Musicale dans la Civilisation des Sassanides' published in the April-October, 1936 issue of the *Bulletin de L'Association Française des Amis de L'Orient*, p. 24 et seqq.

⁶ Cf. Browne's article in the *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 54 et seqq. and *LHP.*, i, 14-15, foot-note No. 2.

⁷ See Prof. A. Christensen's article 'Some Notes on Persian Melody-Names of the Sassanian Period' published in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, pp. 368-388, Bombay, 1909.

discovered a metrical passage in the Hājiābād inscription¹. An endeavour to discover rhythm in the *Bundahishn* has been made by M.H.S. Nyberg², while in the opinion of M.E. Benveniste, the *Draxt-i Āsurik*³ contains metrical lines based on the number of syllables. According to Christensen, it is quite possible that the *Hazaj* metre has been evolved from the earlier syllabic forms⁴. The syllabic principle of Middle Persian poetry seems to survive in the dialectal poetry of Īrān down to our own time. The popular poetry quoted by some early authors⁵ under the significant name *Fahlaviyyāt*⁶ favours the supposition that this poetry directly bears the previous tradition. To the same category belong the present day folk-songs⁷ and the poetry of the

¹ Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. Paul Horn), p. 17, Berlin, 1897; Arthur Christensen, *Les Gestes des Rois dans les traditions de l' Iran antique*, p. 46, Paris, 1936.

² J. A., 1929, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 193 et seqq; 1932, p. 245 et seqq.

⁴ A. Christensen, *Les Gestes des Rois dans les traditions de l' Iran antique*, p. 53, Paris, 1936.

⁵ Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays-i Rāzī, *Al-Mu'jam*, pp. 12, 80, 81, 83, and 142-47, Leyden, 1909.

⁶ Cf. Pindār-i Rāzī :

لحن اورامن بیتِ پہلوی زخمه رود و سماع خسروی

Also Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān :

بشنو و نیکو شنو نغمه خنیاگران پہلوانی سماع بخسروانی طریق

⁷ The following specimens of folk-songs, composed on syllabic system are interesting :

بہی کن کہ بہی بہ دل از کینہ تہی بہ
ہمان کس کہ بدی کرد . ہم او گفت بہی بہ

بیا بریم تا می خوریم شرابِ ملکہ ری خوریم
حالا نہ خوریم پیس کی خوریم

Gurans ¹.

Arabic metres
adopted and modified

With the Arab conquest of Īrān, the minds of the Iranians, at least of the class connected with administrative affairs, became rapidly influenced by Muslim civilisation. Their progress in Arabic was no less rapid than that of their successors of the twentieth century in French. Without any difficulty they mastered Arabic poetics and became accustomed to the Arabic metres which are based upon quantity. It was then only natural to apply the newly acquired canons to the Persian language. The general character of Persian words is, however, very peculiar as regards their metrical value. There is a great scarcity of short syllables in Persian and this alone required a considerable readaptation of Arabic metres. Some of the Arabic metres devised to suit a language abounding in short syllables, are hardly ever used in Persian. On the contrary, some metres, rare or entirely unknown in Arabic, have been especial favourites with the poets of Īrān. Of the thirty metres utilised by the Iranians, fifteen were formu-

دیشب که بارون اومد یارم لب بون اومد
رفتم لبش ببوسم نازک بود و خون اومد
خونش چکید تو باغچه یه دسه گل در اومد

Here بارون stands for باران, اومد for آمد, بون for بام, یه for یک and دسه for دسته.

—[*Ṣādiq-i Hidāyat, Aṣṣāna*, p. 32. Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar)/A.D. 1931].

¹ Vide Major E. B. Soane's article 'A Short Anthology of Guran Poetry', published in the *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 57-81.

lated by Khalil b. Ahmad¹, one by Abu'l-Hasan Akhlagh and three by the Iranians who subsequently added eleven more². Among these metres, the *Jadīl*, *Qarīb* and *Mushākil* are favoured by the Iranians, while the *Tauīl*, *Madīl*, *Bavīṭ*, *Wafīr* and *Kāmil* are for the most part popular with the Arabs. The remaining metres are employed in both Arabic and Persian³. The following verses of Naṣīrū'd-Dīn Furṣatū'd-Dawla, poetically surnamed *Furṣat* (A.H. 1271-1339 = A.D. 1854-1920), will serve as *memoria technica* for these facts:

بحوری که مخصوص باشد عجم را
 جدید و قریب است و دیگر مشاکی
 طویل و مدید و بیسط از عرب شد
 دو دیگر یکی وافر و نیز کامل
 حمز این شعرها آنچه مانده است باقی
 همه مشترک دان تو ای مرد عاقل

New nomenclature
 proposed by Āyatī.

The modern poets other than Āyatī and Yahyā Dawlatābādī show no inclination to question the system adopted by their ancestors. Āyatī does not go very far in an article, published in his *Namakdān*⁴ ("The Salt-Cellar"), while strongly recommending the rejection of the Arabic names of metres that are, in his opinion,

¹ Died A.H. 175/A.D. 791-92

² According to Shamsū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays-i Rāzī twenty-one metres were added (v. *Al-Mu'jam*, p. 152, Leyden, 1900).

³ Najaf-qulī Mīrzā, *Durra-ʿi Najafī*, p. 12, Bombay, A.H. 1333

⁴ *Namakdān*, No. 9, pp. 38-48 and No. 12, pp. 4-27 (second series)

inappropriate. Apart from the new Persian metrical nomenclature, he has failed to propound any new metrical theory. Though his terminology has not received any recognition, it is in keeping with the general tendency towards Purism. He suggests *Bahr* (بحر portion) for the Arabic *Baḥr* (بحر metre) to mean metre, and *Sanjish* (سنجش measure) for *Taqṭī* (تقطیع to scan) to mean scansion. According to him, the radicals س ر و د are more appropriate than the Arabic ف ع ل ن which play the main parts in the formation of the different metrical feet.

Āyatī gives the following Persian equivalents for eight Arabic mnemonics or feet that constitute the various metres :

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----|-------------|
| 1. Sarūdām | سرودم | for | Fa'ūlun |
| 2. Mīsarā | میسرا | „ | Fā'ilun |
| 3. Sarā'idām | سرائیدم | „ | Mafā'ilun |
| 4. Mīsarāyam | میسرایم | „ | Fā'ilātun |
| 5. Bīsrūdāmī | بسرودمی | „ | Mustaf'ilun |
| 6. Bīsrūdīm | بسرودیم | „ | Maf'ūlatu |
| 7. Sarūda-amī | سروده امی | „ | Maf'āilatun |
| 8. Bīsarāyamī ¹ | بسرائیمی | „ | Mutafā'ilun |

Further, Āyatī proposes new Persian names for

¹ Here reference may be made to the following interesting mnemonics ingeniously invented for Urdū prosody by Sayyid Inshā Allāh Khān, poetically surnamed *Inshā* (d. A.H. 1233/A.D. 1817):

صاحب بخش، چنچل پری، نور بائی، پری خان، چتلگن، پیازو،
بناس پتی and چتوت هتی-

—See his *Daryā-i Layāfat*, pp. 372-74, Murshidābād (Bengal), 1850.

the thirty metres as follows:—

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|------------------------|
| 1. Rajaz ¹ | رجز | for | Rajaz |
| 2. Zharf | ژرف | „ | Ramal |
| 3. Naghz | نغز | „ | Wāfir |
| 4. Sara | سره | „ | Kāmil |
| 5. Khush-navā | خوشنوا | „ | Hazaj |
| 6. Razm-āvar | دزم آور | „ | Mutaqārib |
| 7. Yak-navākht | یکنواخت | „ | Mutadārik ² |
| 8. Pur-āshūb | پر آشوب | „ | Muqtzib |
| 9. Dushvār | دشوار | „ | Munsariḥ |
| 10. Farkhunda | فرخنده | „ | Muzārī ³ |
| 11. Barāzanda | برازنده | „ | Mujtaṣṣ |
| 12. Kashīda | کشیده | „ | Tawīl |
| 13. Jān-fizā | حائزنا | „ | Madīd |
| 14. Ravān | روان | „ | Basīṭ |
| 15. Shitābān | شتابان | „ | Sarī ⁴ |
| 16. Sabuk | سبک | „ | Khafif |
| 17. Tāza | تازه | „ | Jadīd |
| 18. Dil-pasand | دلپسند | „ | Qarīb |
| *19. Gūnā-gūn | کونا کون | „ | Mushākil |

¹ As this word is quite popular, Āyatī prefers to retain it (*Namakdān*, No. 12, p. 5).

² This metre is said to have been formulated by Abu'l-Ḥasan Akhfash.

³ These nineteen metres can be remembered with the help of the following verses:

رجز خفیف و زمل منسرخ دگر مجتث
بسیط و وافز و کامل هزج طویل و مدید

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------|-----|--------|
| 20. Pahnāvar | پہناور | for | 'Arīẓ |
| 21. Sangīn | سنگین | „ | 'Amīq |
| 22. Burīda | بریدہ | „ | Ṣarīm |
| 23. Dil-kash | دلکش | „ | Kabīr |
| 24. Shab-āhang | شب آہنگ | „ | Badīl |
| 25. Digar-gūn | دگرگون | „ | Qalīb |
| 26. Ravānbakhsh | روان بخش | „ | Ḥamīd |
| 27. Sabuk-rūḥ | سبک روح | „ | Ṣaghīr |
| 28. Giryā-khīz | گریہ خیز | „ | Aṣamm |
| 29. Shah-nāzī | شہنازی | „ | Salīm |
| 30. Sanjīda | سنجیدہ | „ | Ḥamīm |

Persian poems in
Iambic metre.

Nothing extraordinary has yet been achieved in the creation of new metres. An attempt to improve the Arabic metre is found in two short stanzas, of which one is similar to the Latin Iambic and the other to the tonic. The second specimen is more interesting because, in it, the tonic principles have been made to coincide with the quantitative system.

مشاکل و متقارب سریع و مقتضب است
مضارع و مقدارک قریب و نیز جدید

—(Blochmann's *Prosody of the Persians*, p. 23).

Āyatī's *memoria technica* for the above is:

نغز و رزم آور روان دشوار و گوناگون رجز
تازہ و فرخندہ پُر آشوب و ژرف و خوشنوا
پسی برازندہ کشیدہ پسی شتابان یکذواخت
دلپسند است و سرہ آنگہ سبک پسی جانفزا

—(Namakdān No. 12, second series, p. 5.)

Apparently the authors of these poems have had the idea of effecting a variation in the structure of the *rubā'i*. Nevertheless, they have shown new possibilities by producing charming poems on Iambic patterns. No wonder that the Iranian Muse may one day direct her attention towards the introduction of the Classical European metrical system into Persian.

The stanza in the Latin Iambic pentameter runs thus:

شی نگارِ گام‌ذارِ من نشسته بود در کنارِ من
آنک ز رویِ ماهِ جاوه داشت زمین ز نورِ رویِ یارِ من

The second specimen which is a tonic Iambic tetrameter, has a good swing and grace:

ازان زمان که شد روان ز چشمِ من نگارِ من
چه چشم‌ها شده روان از اشکِ بر کنارِ من¹

In connection with the last quoted poem we may record here some recent developments in the use of *cæsuras*. They were known to the poets of the

¹ The metre on which these verses are composed is a variation of the *Hazaj* called *Maq'ûṣ*. Compare Qaṣṣī's *Muḥammāt* in praise of the Queen-mother (Mahd-i 'Ulā, mother of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Shāh Qajār) and his *Qasida* in praise of Mirzā Taqī Khan Amīr-i Kabīr, the first of which begins thus:

بنفشه رسته از زمین بطرفِ جویبارها
و یا گسسته حورِ مین ز زلفِ خویشِ تارها

and the second:

نسیم خُشاد می وزد ز جویبارها
که بویِ مشک میدهد هوایِ مرغزارها

Classical period¹, but at present their effect is being realised more consciously².

Attempt to revive
syllabic system.

Actual departure from the traditional metrical principles is found only in three poems, two of which were composed by Yahyá Dawlatābādī and the third by Āyatī. In 1930, while in Switzerland, Yahyá composed two poems entitled *Subḥ-dam*³ ("At Dawn") and *Sabk-i Tāza*⁴ ("A New Style"), just to show the possibility of composing Persian verses according to the syllabic system. He made this attempt at the instance of the late Professor Browne, who, it seems, was eager to substantiate by example his conviction that Persian poems could be composed without the help of Arabic prosody⁵.

Yahyá's first poem entitled *Subḥ-dam* comprises

¹ Note the cæsuras in the following lines of Sa'dī occurring in his *Tayyibāt* :

دانی چه گفت مرا آن بلبلِ سحری
تو خود چه آدمی کز عشق بی خبری
اشتر بشعر عرب در حالتست و طرب
گر ذوق نیست ترا کج طبع جانوری
دیگر نظر نکنم بالای سرو چمن
دیگر صفت نکنم رفتار کبکِ دری

² Cf. The following verse of Hūdī Hāyirī has cæsuras at regular intervals :

باز شد پدید ' در جهان خزان ' شد تهی ز برج ' شاخِ گلستان '
دو شکفته گل ' از میانِ باغ ' پشتِ پیروده رفت ' کرد رخِ نهان '

— (*Sukhan*, i, 411.)

³ Yahyá Dawlatābādī, *Urdibihisht*, pp. 124-126, Tīhrān, 1304 A.H. (Solar).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124, and also K. Chaikin, *KONPL.*, pp. 106-107 Moscow, 1928.

thirteen stanzas, each of five hemistichs. In every stanza, each of the first three hemistichs (which rhyme together) consists of twelve syllables, while each of the last two hemistichs (which rhyme between them separately) is composed of seven syllables. So far as cæsuras are concerned, the plan is (7+5) for the first three and (4+3) for the last two hemistichs in each stanza, though the poet does not maintain it in many places. The first stanza runs as follows:

صبحدم پیمانه شد از خفتن لبریز
جام بیداری در کف کج دار و مریز
خواب با چشمانم اندر جنگ و گریز
نه خواب بودم نه بیدار
نه مست بودم نه هوشیار¹

The second poem has eight stanzas, each of six hemistichs. In every stanza, each of the first five hemistichs consists of eight syllables, while the hemistichs standing sixth in all the stanzas rhyme together and comprise ten syllables each. Here the plan of cæsuras may be represented as (4+4) in each hemistich. The first stanza of this poem is quoted below:

من در عالم جویم آدم عاقل دانا کامل بینا
نیکو خصات نیکو طینت صاحب همت صاحب عزت
شخص رنگین مرد سنگین از هر چه بود این به در عالم²

¹ Yahyá Dawlatábádí, *Urdibihisht*, pp. 124-26.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

In Amurdād, 1309 (July, 1930), Āyatī in his *Namākdān* published a poem composed on the syllabic system. All the twelve hemistichs of this poem have the same kind of rhyme. The scheme of cæsuras is (10 + 10), with slight deviations here and there. The poem begins thus :

چو بدامِ عشقِ تو افتادم ز قیود و سلسله آزادم
نکنم خود را بجهان پابند که بازادی ز جهان زادم¹

To sum up, no serious attempt has yet been made to alter the classical system, nor is there any feeling of inconvenience about it. The Arabic metrical system has survived not only because everybody became accustomed to it, but possibly because it is still capable of further development. Āyatī has applied Persian nomenclature to the different metres and furnished them with Persian mnemonics. He has said nothing about the system and has not succeeded in advancing any new metrical theory. Yaḥyá has endeavoured only to indicate the possibility of composing poems in Persian without the help of Arabic metres. His specimens, not unreasonably criticized by Vaḥid², are at once crude, artificial and devoid of poetic value. But apart from the poetical merits and demerits of the poems of Yaḥyá and Āyatī, we cannot deny the fact that they are interesting as the first attempts of the poets to revive the ancient metres of Īrān. Persian

¹ *Namākdān*, No. 8, 1st year, pp. 424-25.

² *Armaghān*, v, 584-86.

poetry, as the folk-songs and popular poetry of Īrān indicate, can be of considerable importance towards the attainment of this aim. Likewise it can draw new inspiration from the European metrical systems. The task, however, is still left to the master-hands to demonstrate the great possibilities of these systems in Persian.

VERSE-FORMS

Traditional
classification.

For their various verse-forms and rhyme schemes, as for all else pertaining to the construction of their poetry, the Iranians are mostly indebted to the Arabs to whose system, however, they have added many new features representing either a survival of the ancient Iranian forms or those newly invented.

Rückert¹ following the author of the *Haft Qulzum*² ("The Seven Seas"), has enumerated the following eleven verse-forms in Persian poetry :—

1. *Ghazal* (Ode):
2. *Qaṣīda* (Panegyric).
3. *Taṣhīb* (Exordium).
4. *Qit'a* (Fragment).
5. *Rubā'i* (Quatrain).
6. *Fard* (Unit).
7. *Maṣnavī* (Doublets).
8. *Tarjī'-band* (Return-tie).
9. *Tarkīb-band* (Composite-tie).
10. *Mustazād* (Increment-poem).
11. *Musammaṭ* (Multiple-poem).

¹ Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (ed., Pertsch), p. 55.

² Qabūl Muḥammad, *Haft Qulzum*, Nawal Kishore edition, part vii, p. 44.

Criticism.

This traditional classification of verse-forms is not free from criticism. Like Shamsu'd-Dīn Qays ar-Rāzī¹, Gladwin² has classed the *tarjī'-band* and the *tarkīb-band* together under *tarjī'*. According to Browne, their classification should be limited to six kinds only³, while Prof. Nicholson considering the question formally, further reduces the number to five main types⁴.

The traditional classification of verse-forms, however, is not without its justification. Let us, first of all, consider the case of the *tashbīb* in relation to the *qaṣīda*. A *qaṣīda* may or may not contain a *tashbīb*⁵. Allowed to stand alone as a complete poem, the *tashbīb* may claim to have formed a class by itself.

The *qit'a* cannot form a separate class, if it is only extracted from a *qaṣīda*. But when a poem is composed in monorhyme, dealing with a single topic in such a manner that it cannot be classed as a *rubā'ī* or *ghazal*, it definitely forms a distinct class.

The *tarkīb-band* and the *tarjī'-band* may be regarded as two distinct classes, the former having a variable and the latter an invariable refrain.

The *fard* would seem to be a *bayt* expressing a

¹ Shamsu'd-Dīn Qays ar-Rāzī, *Al-Mu'jam* (ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, in Giōb Memorial Series, Vol. X.), p. 372, 1909.

² Gladwin, *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme*, p. 1, Calcutta, 1798.

³ *LHP.*, ii, 23.

⁴ R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, pp. 2-3, Cambridge, 1921.

⁵ U. M. Daudpota, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry*, p. 32 (foot-note), Bombay, 1934; also Gladwin, *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians*, p. 5, Calcutta, 1798.

complete thought or idea. In other words, it represents a class of monoverse poems or apophthegms, with or without rhyme, often quoted to illustrate and emphasize the point of the speaker.

Verse-forms
classified according
to rhyme schemes.

So far as the variety of rhyme schemes is concerned, we may classify the verse-forms in the following manner :—

1. Those verse-forms in which second hemistichs (*مصرع*) of all the distichs (*بيت*) rhyme together. Under this head we may put the *qaṣīda*, *tashībīb*, *ghazal*, *qīṭ'a* and *mustazād*.
2. Those in which the two hemistichs of each distich rhyme together and are quite independent of the rhymes of the other distichs in a poem, e.g., the *maṣnavī*.
3. Those composed of four hemistichs in which all four or at least the first, second and fourth hemistichs have the same sort of rhyme, e.g., the *rubā'ī* and *du-baytī*.
4. Those consisting of a succession of four, five or six-line strophes, each of which has an inside rhyme of its own, to the exclusion of the closing hemistich which rhymes with the closing hemistichs of other strophes, e.g., the *musammat*¹.

¹It may be noted here that *Minūchihrī* has another form of *musammat* in which all the hemistichs of each strophe rhyme together without any continuity in rhyme between the different strophes. The rhyme scheme may be represented as : a a a a a a, b b b b b b, c c c c c c and so on.

5. Those in which all the hemistichs have the same rhyme throughout the poem, e.g., the *tamām-maṭla'*.
6. Those consisting of a series of strophes which are connected with one another by variable or invariable refrains. These strophes, each independently rhymed, follow the rhyme scheme of the *qaṣīda* or *ghazal* while the hemistichs of each refrain rhyme with each other, differing from those of the preceding or succeeding strophes, e.g., the *tarkīb-band* and *tarjī'-band*.

Growth and
development.

A survey of the growth and development of these verse-forms cannot be given chronologically owing to the extinction of pre-Samanid literature and absence of sufficient records. Only a general observation is being offered below to throw light on this point.

The fundamental verse-form which the Iranians borrowed from the Arabs, and with which neo-Persian poetry began, is the *qaṣīda*, the only finished type of verse-form. It has four parts, technically known as the *tashbīb* ("Erotic prelude") the *takhalluṣ* or *gurīz-gāh* ("Transition-verse"), the *madiḥa* ("Panegyric") and the *maqā'a* ("Concluding verse").

The diverse themes suggested by the natural environment and racial characteristics of the Iranian mind demanded a greater scope and variety in the rhyme scheme.

Poetically considered, the *tashbīb* is a part of the *qaṣīda*, giving as it does the greatest scope to the soaring up of the poet's phantasy. With certain adaptations and limitations the Iranians developed it into the *ghazal*¹. In this sense it may be called an Iranian invention. From the following verse of 'Unṣurī, it may be seen that Rūdakī (d. A.H. 329/A.D. 940-41), wrote *ghazals*:

غزل دودکی وار نیکو بود غزلهای من رودکی وار نیست
اگرچه بکوشم بیاریک وهم بدین پرده اندر مرا بار نیست²

Another important verse-form which is typically Iranian, is the *Rubā'ī*. The highest philosophical thoughts and most abstruse mystical doctrines have found expression in it. According to *Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays-i Rāzī*³, this verse-form is called *rubā'ī* because in Arabic poetry the *hazaj* metre is composed of four feet and so two Persian hemistichs in this metre are tantamount to four Arabic hemistichs. But the Iranian term *du-bayt* (دبیت), with its plural *du-baytāt* (دبیتات), as used by Arab writers, clearly proves that it is an Iranian invention, afterwards borrowed by the Arabs.

*Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Qays*⁴ and others have attributed the invention of the *rubā'ī* to Rūdakī. But the three quatrains ascribed to the great saint

¹ *Al-Mu'jam*, pp. 383-85.

² *Awfī* (ed. Browne), *Lubāb*, ii, p. 6.

³ *Al-Mu'jam*, p. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Bāyazīd-i Bastāmī (d. A.H. 260/A.D. 873-4) by Rīzā-qulī Khān Hidāyat in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā*¹, refute this view. One of the quatrains runs thus:

ای عشق تو کشته عارف و عامی را سودای تو گم کرده نکو نامی را
ذوق لب میگون تو آورده برون از صومعه بایزید بسطامی را²

There is a distinction between *rubā'ī* and *du-baytī*. The former has twenty-four metres, peculiar to itself, all of them derived from the *Hazaj*, while the latter may be composed in any metre.

The Iranians needed another verse-form, which could be best suited for their long epic, erotic, ethical and mystical themes. The monorhyme pattern was too stiff for the purpose. Consequently they invented the *maṣnavī* which affords perfect freedom in the diversity of rhyme and puts no limitation on the number of verses. This verse-form has been a useful vehicle to the Iranians for their legends, romances and moral and mystical philosophy. It is as old as Rūdakī, if not still older. Many couplets of his versified version of the *Kalīla va Dimna* are still preserved in various lexicons³. The *maṣnavī* was introduced into Arabic under the name *Muzdawaj* only during the post-Classical period (late tenth century onwards⁴).

¹ Vol. i, p. 65.

² Vol. 1, p. 65

³ Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. Paul Horn) pp. 19-20, Berlin, 1897. *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (written in A.H. 1005/A.D. 1596-97), *Farhang-i Rashīdī* (written in A.H. 1064/A.D. 1653-54), *Farhang-i Anjuman-i Ārā-yi Nāṣirī* (published in A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-72), etc.

⁴ LHP., ii, 26.

By giving further artistic touches to the *qaṣīda*, the Iranians produced five more verse-forms, namely, the *musammaṭ*, *tamām-maṭla'*, *tarjī'-band*, *tarkīb-band* and *mustazād*, of which the first two are more musical than the rest. Minūchihrī of the court of the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd (A.D. 1030-40) was very fond of the *musammaṭ*. He also wrote a poem in the *tamām-maṭla'* form which begins thus :

ساقی بیا که امشب ساقی بکار باشد
زان ده مرا که رنگش چون جلنار باشد¹

The *tarjī'-band* and *tarkīb-band*, with refrains to avoid monotony, are actually the first attempt towards the formation of strophe poems. The *tarjī'-band* is a *ritornelle* with a constant refrain striking the same note. The *tarkīb-band* with its changing refrains is less monotonous and more suited for long narratives, although great masters with the exception of Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (A.D. 1046-1122), Jamāl-u'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq of Iṣfahān (d. A.D. 1192), Sa'dī (d. A.D. 1291), Hāfiz (d. A.D. 1389) and Hātif (d. A.D. 1784), have rarely employed it.

The *mustazād*² with its increment lines has a grace of its own. The Classical poets, however, do not seem to be very fond of it, though Sa'd-i Salmān has a short *mustazād* in praise of Sulṭān Mas'ūd III (A.H.

¹ A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri*, p. 31 (Persian text), Paris, 1886.

² Prof. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān is of opinion that the *Mustazād* has been derived from the Arabic *Muwashshah*. See his *Mir'atu'sh-Shi'r*, pp. 46-47, Delhi, 1926.

492-508/A.D. 1099-1114). The opening verses read :

ای کامگار سلطان انصافِ تو بکیهان گشته عیان
مسعود شهر یاری خورشید نامداری اندر جهان¹

So far we have spoken of the Classical verse-forms and rhyme schemes. Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the constitutional movement in Īrān, various innovations in the rhyme scheme were introduced. The modern poets, not quite free from racial prejudice against the Arabs, found the Classical verse-forms too conventional and narrow for the expression of their new thoughts and themes. It is true that the conservative Īraj disapproved of any deviation from tradition and censured the Modernists in these words :

این جوانان که تجدّد طلبند
دستی دشمنی علم و ادبند

These youths who are Modernists,
are truly enemies of learning and literature.

But the spirited Modernists are bent upon making innovations in the rhyming system. There are two groups among them—the moderates and the extremists. The moderates, with their compromising spirit, endeavoured to develop the Classical forms by effecting certain alterations in them. The youthful extremists were not satisfied with these minor

¹ *Divān-i Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān* (ed. Rashīd-i Yāsīmī), pp. 561-62. Tīhrān, A.H. 1318 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

modifications. They tend to condemn the Classical forms wholesale as antiquated and no longer suitable vehicles for the expression of the new thoughts and themes, created by modern necessities and inventions. They demanded a thorough reformation and change. Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī boldly exclaims :

تا بکی تقلیدِ سبکِ دیگران، بایست ریخت
طرحی از نو همچو طرحِ خواجه‌ها خیامها

How long (are we) to imitate the style of others ?

We ought to start a new line as Ḥāfiz and Khayyām (have done before).

Sarmad voices his view thus :

سرمد برغمِ انجمنِ رسمِ غزل هم تازه کن
چون اوستادانِ سخن خود را بلند آوازه کن

O Sarmad ! contrary to the multitude, renovate thou, too, the mode of *ghazal*,

Like unto the masters of poetry make thyself of high repute.

From this conflict of two tendencies, two different kinds of change in the verse-forms have resulted, one brought about by indigenous efforts and the other by exotic influences. The former was produced by the poets either of the stay-at-home variety or of a conservative frame of mind, while the latter was originated by those poets who had visited Europe and made it their intellectual home. Thus in considering the results produced under these influences, our observations may conveniently be

recorded under two sections, namely :

- a) New verse-forms produced indigenously, and
- b) Those produced under European influence.

a) NEW VERSE-FORMS PRODUCED INDIGENOUSLY

So far as innovations of native growth are concerned, 'Ishqī gave the lead by producing two strophe poems in which he made deliberate deviations from the Classical models. The first is entitled "احتیاج ای احتیاج"¹ (Need! O Need!) and consists of four strophes, each of nine hemistichs and an increment line rhyming thus:—a a a a a a a x x, b b b b b b b x x, c c c c c c c x x and so on. The second poem headed "ای روزگار ای روزگار"² (O World! O World!) comprises eight strophes, each of six hemistichs, according to the formula a a a a a a, b b b b a a, c c c c a a and so on.

The forms, complex indeed, combine in them the characteristics of three different verse-forms—the *musammat*, the *tarjī'-band* and the *mustazād*. They might have been called *musammat*s, if it were not for the repetition of the last hemistich in each strophe. We could have termed them *tarjī'-bands*, had all the hemistichs in each strophe been

¹ *Divān-i 'Ishqī* (ed. Salīmī), pp. 147-49, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar); *Sukhan*, i, 228-29.

² *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 149-51.

in mono-rhyme and had the burdens resembling the *mustazād* been identical with other hemistichs in quantity.

The first strophe of the poem "احتیاج ای احتیاج" is quoted below by way of illustration :

هر گناهی آدمی عمداً بعالم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه اسبابش فراهم میکند
 ورنه کی عمداً گناه اولاد آدم میکند
 یا که از بهر خطا خود را مصمم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه زو طبع بشر دم میکند
 شادی یکساله را یکروزه ماتم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه قدر آدمی کم میکند
 در بر نامرد پشت مرد را خم میکند

ای که شیران را کنی روبه مزاج

احتیاج ای احتیاج¹

Every sin that a man commits intentionally on earth,
 'tis Need that equips him with reasons,

Else how could the children of Adam commit sin
 intentionally or make up their minds to the perpetra-
 tion of crimes?

'Tis Need, due to which the nature of man vacillates
 (and) turns a year-long pleasure into sorrow in one
 day;

'Tis need that humbles the dignity of a man (and)
 makes a brave man stoop before a coward;

¹ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 147-49.

'Tis thou that reducest lions to the nature of a fox,
Need! O Need!

The *Panj-gāna*
and the *Sishgāna*.

Next Afsar, a veteran poet of the blood royal and until lately President of the *Anjuman-i Adabi-yi Īrān* (Literary Society of Īrān), appeared on the scene. He devised two new verse-forms, which he termed *Khumāsī* or *Panj-gāna* and *Sudāsī* or *Sishgāna*. Vahīd-i Dastagardī, the editor of the *Armaghān*, tried to popularize the former by holding a competition. *Shahriyār*, *Nāṭiq* and *Āzād* of Hamadān took part in the competition¹. These forms are only modifications of the *rubā'ī* to which one or two hemistichs have been added to form a *Khumāsī* or *Sudāsī*. Their respective rhyme schemes are a a x x a and a a a x x x. But *Āyatī* who also composes poems in this form², has always followed the rhyme scheme a a a a a.

A *Khumāsī* and a *Sudāsī* by Afsar are given below as specimens :

بهر تو لباسِ وطن ای دوست نکوست
آن جامه که از عدو است شایسته اوست
انصاف بده که فرق دارد یا نه
این بافته خودلیست آن بیگانه
این رسته دشمن است آن رسته دوست³

¹ *Armaghān*, ix, 21 and 100.

² *Namakhān*, i, 85 and 284.

³ *Armaghān*, viii, 360; *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 22, *Shīrāz*, A.H. 1311 (Solar)/A.D. 1932-33; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

For thee, O Friend, a dress of native manufacture is good,

The dress which is made by an enemy is suitable for him ;

Be candid ! Does it make a difference or not ?

One is woven by fellow country-men, the other by foreigners,

One is the produce of an enemy, the other of a friend.

خواهی که اساسِ وهم برباد شود

آئینِ خدا سخت بنیاد شود

اول باید عقیده آزاد شود

تا مرد ز جانِ خویش ایمن گردد

هر مذهب و مسلکی مبرهن گردد

تا آنکه حقایق همه روشن گردد¹

If thou wishest that the basis of folly be destroyed,

(And) God's law be firmly established,

First, let there be freedom of thought,

So that man may be confident of the security of his life,

(And) each religion and mode of thought may be based on proofs,

So that all truths may be elucidated.

Āyatī claims to have invented² a
verse-form, which he named *Ṣulāṣī*

The *Ṣulāṣī*.

¹ *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 19; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

² هنوزم یاد است که اولین ثلاثی خود مبتکر در ستاره ایران درج کرده از آن ببعد دیدم طرف توجه شده ثلاثیها ساختند و از ثلاثی گذشتند مثلث آوردند و سه گوشه اختراع کردند و هلم جرأ. — (*Namakdān*, i, p. 422).

(triplets). It consists of three hemistichs, all having the same rhyme, a a a. This form, he asserts, became popular among the poets who subsequently invented the *Muṣallaṣ* and *Sih-gūsha*, i.e., triangular or three-cornered. The following *Ṣulāṣī* of Āyatī is quoted as a specimen:

یارِ بدت ای‌کاش بدی همچو سراب
او نیست سراب و هست چون آتش و آب
کت باغ بسوزد و کند خانه خراب¹

O that thy bad companion were like unto a mirage !
He is not a mirage, he is like fire and water,
That burn thy garden and devastate thy home.

To sum up this section of the chapter, we come to the conclusion that:—

1. These forms look like modification of the classical models.
2. Only a few poets have so far made innovations.
3. Few modified forms have up to now been produced.
4. These have failed to become popular.
5. The movement, though now it lacks vitality, does not seem to have exhausted its possibilities.

¹ *Namakdān*, i. 115.

(b) NEW VERSE-FORMS PRODUCED
UNDER EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

Poets influenced by European forms. A considerable number of Iranian poets, mostly of inferior rank, are endeavouring to introduce the European system of rhyme into their poetry. They may be classified under the following heads:—

- (i) Those who have been influenced by Western verse-forms through their studies of European literature, either in Europe or in *Īrān*, viz., Aḥmadī, Ḥūsām-zāda Dihkhudā, Šūratgar, Farhang, Qulzum, Lāhūtī, Nīmā and others.
- (ii) Those who are exponents of the Classical verse-forms but have occasionally imitated European models by way of diversion; viz., Bahār, Ḥabīb, Kamālī and others.
- (iii) Those who, in their zeal to modernize the existing forms, adopt these models; viz., Āzād, Raīḥān, Sarmad, Ḥamīdī, Naubakht and others.

Course of development. Dihkhudā is probably the first poet who sought to introduce European verse-forms into Persian. After the bombardment of the *Majlis* (Tūp-bandi-yi Majlis) on June 23, 1908 and the reactionary triumph, he escaped to Europe. On January 23, 1909, he restarted the *Šūr-i Isrāfīl* ("The Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl") at

Yverdon, where it had an ephemeral existence. In its third issue, dated March 8, 1909, *Dihkhudā* published a poem, which shows European influence in the arrangement of its rhyme. The poem is an elegy on Mīrzā Jahāngīr Khān, the editor of the *Šūr-i Isrāfīl* of Tīhrān, who was executed in the Bāgh-i Shāh¹ on June 24, 1908, by the order of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. The first stanza of the poem runs thus :

ای مرغِ سحر چو این شبِ تار بگذاشت زمر سیاه کاری
وز نفحهٔ روح بخش اسرار رفت از سرِ خفتگان خماری
بگشود گره ز زلفِ زر تار محبوبهٔ نیلگون عمارِ
یزدان بکمال شد نمودار و اهریمن زشت خو حصارِ
یاد آر ز شمع مرده یاد آر²

O bird of the morning, when this gloomy night puts aside its dark deeds,

And, at the life-giving breath of the Dawn, besotted slumber departs from the heads of those who sleep,

And the Loved One enthroned on the dark blue litter loosens the knots from her golden-threaded locks,

And God is manifested in perfection, while Ahriman of evil nature withdraws to his citadel,

Remember, O remember, that extinguished lamp!³

This poem consists of five stanzas, each of nine hemistichs. In each stanza, the first, third, fifth

¹ Royal Park outside the western gate of Tīhrān, where the Shāh had made his headquarters for the Coup d'Etat.

² For the complete poem ref. *PPMP.*, pp. 201-204; *Sukhan.* i, 90-91; *PPR.*, pp. 279-80; *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 29-30 and *Armaghān*, iii, 33-34.

³ *PPMP.*, p. 203.

and seventh hemistichs rhyme together in one way, while the second, fourth, sixth and eighth rhyme together; in another, the refrains of all the strophes rhyming in the same way as the opening hemistich of the poem. The rhyme scheme may be represented thus :

a b a b a b a b a,
c d c d c d c d a,
e f e f e f e f a and so on.

This foreign pattern found several reproductions on the native soil. It was imitated by Raiḥān¹ and Kamālī². Vahīd³ has accepted the form with certain deviations which will be clear from the following formula :

a b a b a b a b a b x x,
c d c d c d c d c d y y,
e f e f e f e f e f z z and so on.

That is to say, Vahīd has increased the number of hemistichs to ten with alternate rhyming in each strophe. The couplets which form the refrains rhyme independently.

In 1911-12, Farhang left for Europe. His stay in Paris for four years as a teacher in the *Ecole des Langues Orientales* caused him to write a poem on "Mother Īrān" on a European model. It comprises eleven stanzas, each of six hemistichs. The first

¹ *Bāghcha-i Raiḥān*, pp. 6-9, 24-25 and 44-46. Ṭihrān, A.H. 1338.

² *Armaghān*, i, 30-32, *Īrānshahr*, iii, 151-54.

³ *Armaghān*, i, 1-4; ix, 3-11.

stanza runs thus :

تابنده چو خورشید و فروزان چو ستاره
در صحنه پناهور این چرخ محذب
ای آئینه شرق پدید از تو هماره
فرزند بلند اختر و مردان مهذب

از خلد برین خوبی‌ری ای چمن عشق
گهواره علم و هنری ای وطن عشق¹

(Thou art) resplendent like the Sun and bright as star

In the wide expanse of this convex firmament,
O mirror of the Orient! from thee always sprang
High-starred sons and cultured men ;
Thou art lovelier than Paradise, O Garden of Love !
Thou art the cradle of art and science, O Home of Love.

The arrangement of rhymes in this poem, excepting in the stanzas 4 and 5, may be represented thus :

a b a b r r,
c d c d s s,
e f e f t t and so on.

In the stanzas 4 and 5, there is some deviation which will be clear from the following representation :

a b a p p p,
a b a p p p.

This pattern was also adopted by Ahmadi²,

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 337.

² *Armaghān*, vi, 495-98; *Sukhan*. ii, 15-19; *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 91-95.

Asadu'llāh Ashtarī¹, Husām-zāda², Jūdī³ and Sarmad⁴.

Ja'far-i Khāmana'ī of Tabriz contributed a poem on *Zamistān* ("Winter") to the February issue of the monthly magazine *Dānishkada*⁵. The poem consists of ten tetrastichs that rhyme alternately as shown below :

a b a b,
c d c d,
e f e f and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is :

جمال طبیعت بفصل بهار
صفا بخش و زیباست شوخ و تشنگ
رونق جو دوشیزه گلزار
زداید ز دلهای پژمرده زنگ

The beauty of Nature in Spring,
Is pleasant, elegant, sprightly and lovely,
In grace 'tis like a rosy-cheeked damsel
Who removes the rust (of sadness) from withered hearts.

This verse-form became very popular among the poets and Bahār⁶, Ḥabīb⁷, Ḥamidī⁸, Rashīd-i

¹ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 124-26; *PPR.*, pp. 89-90, (two poems).

² *PPR.*, pp. 232-34; *Sukhan.* i, 71-73.

³ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, p. 131.

⁴ *Sukhan.* ii, 197-200.

⁵ *Dānish-kada*, pp. 559-61; Muḥammad Ziyā Hashtrūdī, *Muntakhabāt-i Āṣār*, pp. 173-75, Tihriān, A.H. 1342.

⁶ *Nau-bahār*, No. 14 of the 13th year; *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 109-110 and *Sukhan.* i, 369-71; *Nau-bahār*, No. 16 of the 13th year; *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 158-59, (two poems).

⁷ *Kānūn-i Shu'arā*, Nos. 36-40, vol. iii, p. 12.

⁸ *Mihr*, vol. vi, pp. 277 and 459-60.

Yāsīmī¹, Šūrātgar² and Qulzum³ have composed poems in it.

Nīmā of Māzandarān has evinced a keen interest in the composition of poems on European models. In the *Muntakhabāt-i-Āṣār* three of his poems, *Ay Shab*⁴ ("O Night"), *Maḥbas*⁵ ("The Gaol") and *Afsāna*⁶ ("The Fable") have been selected as specimens of his composition. Another of his poems, *Khār-kan*⁷ ("The Thorn-digger"), has been included in the *Gulhā-yi Adab*.

The poem *Ay Shab* consists of eleven stanzas, each of six hemistichs, the rhyme scheme being :

a b c b d d,
e f g f h h and so on.

The stanzas of the *Maḥbas* rhyme as follows :—

a a b a c c,
d d e d f f and so on.

The rhyme scheme of the stanzas of the poem *Afsāna* are of three kinds. Each stanza comprises five hemistichs. The variation will be clear from the representation given below :

a a b a c,
d e f e g and
h h h h i.

¹ *Āyanda*, ii, 80-81; *PPR.*, pp. 292-94 and *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 120-22.

² *Mīhr*, ii, pp. 929-36, 1039-41 and 1145-47. *Sukhan*, ii, 265-70; *Zīr-i Āsmān-i Bāḥtar*, (three poems).

³ *Kānūn-i Shu'arā*, No. 29, vol. i, p. 7, *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 103-4; *Sukhan*, ii, 299.

⁴ *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 60-62; *Nau-bahār*, No. 10, 13th year.

⁵ *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 69-72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-82.

⁷ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 44-45.

The poem *Khār-kan* consists of seven stanzas, each of six hemistichs. Its rhyme scheme is :

a a b a c c,
d d e d f f and so on.

In 1925, the communist Lāhūtī introduced another innovation into Persian tetrastichs. He contributed a poem, entitled *Chaman-i Sūkh̄ta* ("The Burnt Meadow"), to the *Āvāz-i Tājīk*¹. The poem which is an attack on the British domination of Egypt, consists of seven tetrastichs. In the arrangement of its rhymes it may compare with the quatrains of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*²; that is to say, the first hemistich rhymes with the fourth and the second with the third, as shown in the following representation :

a b b a,
c d d c,
e f f e and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is quoted below as an illustration :

ریشه‌های صنوبر و شمشاد
پر و بال زیادی از بلبل

¹ A Communist paper in Persian published from Samarqand. It was started on the 15th August, 1924. 'Abdu'l-Qayyūm Qurbī was its first editor and later was replaced by Sayyid Riẓā 'Alī-zāda.

² Cf. the following quatrain :

I passed beside the reverend walls
In which of old I wore the gown ;
I roved at random thro' the town ;
And saw the tumult of the halls.

برک خشکی - و بهار تا از گل
 نه بانی ز جوت نی صباد^۱

Roots of fir and box trees,
 Plenty of wings and feathers of phylomela,
 Three or four dry petals of roses,
 Footprints of a few hunters.

Nau-bakht of Shirāz composed a poem under the heading *Tahht-i Jamshīd u Bulbul* ("Persepolis and the Nightingale"), comprising six stanzas, each of seven hemistichs. So far as the number of hemistichs is concerned, it bears resemblance to the Rhyme-Royal² of English poetry. The rhyme scheme of the poem may be represented thus:

a b a b a b r,
 c d c d c d r,
 e f e f e f r and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is given below:

بلبل به بهار گل بنقریند میگفت که عاقبت خزان است
 امروز گل است و سایه پید فردا نه گل و نه سایه بان است
 این کاخ بزرگ تفت حمید گویند که خانه کیان است
 گردیده چنین خرابه یکبار^۳

A nightingale to the blossoming Spring twittering
 Said, "Autumn will follow at last.

¹ *Ādās-i Tājik*, No. 41 dated June 21, 1925; Sa'ūd-Dīn 'Aynī, *Namūna-ı Adabıyyāt-ı Tājik*, pp. 613-14, Samatqand, 1925; *Sulḥā* ii, pp. 311-12.

² *Saundersbury, Manual of English Prosody*, p. 291, London, 1923.

³ *Gulhā-ı Adab*, pp. 128-30.

arrangement of rhymes, both in its octave and sestet, will be clear from the following representation:

a b b a c d e d i g g h i i.

From the study of these verse-forms, it is easy to conclude that tetrastichs with an alternate rhyme-scheme are most popular with the poets. This may be due to the fact that Sa'di happens to have a tetrastich of the kind in his *Gulistan*. On the same ground this verse-form may be considered to be of local origin, though the poets, perhaps in their desire to develop the well-known *rubā'ī*, had European models before them. On the other hand, the tetrastichs of the form a b b a, has hardly appealed to the poets. The next in popularity is the sextain of the form a b a b r r, because among other forms of sextains, it makes the nearest approach to the Classical *muzaddas* (six-some). The nine-line stanzas have also gained in popularity, probably because they are written mostly with alternate rhymes. The remaining forms, with only a solitary example of each, have definitely failed to produce any effect.

¹ Cf. the following tetrastich contained in the preface:

اول آردی در پشتِ ماءِ حلالی بلبل گوینده بر منابرِ قُضبان
بر گلِ سرخ از نعرِ اوقاده لای هر چه و برقِ بر عذارِ شاعرِ قُضبان

VI

THEMES

The new urge and
change in themes.

Since the beginning of the movement for the Constitution, the poets

of Īrān have dealt with themes that are widely different from those of the earlier poets. The modern poetry will, perhaps, fail to appeal much to those who are still devoted to such conventional forms as *qaṣīdas* (panegyrics) and such subjects as sweethearts, the garden, the wine, the tavern and the like. The new urge calling forth the poetic activities of the age is the desire to bring about the national regeneration of Īrān and restore her to her former power and glory. The glorification of her ancient kings, the praise of Zoroaster and his religion, the emancipation of women, the reformation of social institutions, manners and customs, the contemplation of important economic problems, the consideration of various moral virtues of men and women are all reflections emanating from one and the same source of inspiration. Nevertheless, we must not think that this new urge has dealt a death-blow to the classical themes or has fully succeeded in dispensing with them. The taste for the epic is manifest from the *Sālār-nāma* of Āqā

Khān-i Kirmānī, the *Qaiṣar-nāma* of Adib-i Pīshāwari, the *Shāhnāma* of Nawbakht and the *Pahlavī-nāma* of Ja'far-i Sayyāh. Ghamām of Hamadān, Āzād, Shabāb, Shūrīda and others have kept the ghazal well alive. The aged 'Ibrat is known for his mystical effusions. *Qaṣīdas*, in the classical sense of the term, are rare owing to the dearth of patrons willing to change these products of imagination into solid *tūmāns*. The modern didactic themes, full of moralizing spirit, draw inspiration from the classical poetry of previous epochs.

New themes
classified.

The various new themes engaging
the modern poets may be classified

under the following principal heads and subdivisions :

1. *Political :*

- a) Vituperation of the Qājār dynasty
- b) Pan-Islāmism
- c) Communism
- d) Anti-Russian
- e) Pro-German
- f) Pro- and anti-British
- g) Pro- and anti-Turkish
- h) Pro- and anti-Riṣā Shāh

2. *Patriotic :*

- a) Love for the 'motherland'
- b) Recollection of past glories
- c) Glorification of Zoroaster and his religion

The themes
chronologically set. Again these themes, if studied
according to their chronological
growth and development, may fall within three distinct
periods; viz.

- I. Period of consciousness and despondency
(from March 8, 1890 to May 1, 1896 i.e.,
from the date of granting of the Tobacco
Concession to the date of assassination of
Nāṣir'ud-Dīn Shāh).

Themes :

Political and Patriotic.

- II. Period of struggle and hope (from May 2,
1896 to March 22, 1924, i.e., from the
date on which Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh was
proclaimed King to that of deposition of
Aḥmad Shāh).

Themes :

Political, Patriotic and National.

- III. Period of renaissance and victory (from
March 22, 1924 to the present day).

Themes :

Political, Patriotic, National,
Economic, Educational, Social
and Ethical.

We shall now deal with some of these themes in
the following order :—

1. As against stereotyped and degenerate themes.

Iranian youths¹. So they are striving to get rid of artificiality, insincerity, monotony and exaggeration. Themes like musky ringlets, dreamy eyes, rosy cheeks and ruby lips no longer charm them. They are keenly interested in such topics as may accelerate the development of the social, economic, educational and political conditions of their country.

Furāt in his poem *Junūn-i Shā'irī* ("The Madness of Poesy"), severely criticizes his contemporaries who employ vulgar and forced similes and metaphors in their compositions :

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| دم از عشق و اسرار آن تا بکی | در این عشقها هیچ اسرار نیست |
| مگو تنگ شکر بلعش دگر | ازین شیوه جانا که بیزار نیست |
| میانش بمو، مو به مار سیاه | مده نسبت اینها سزاوار نیست |
| چه نسبت به پستان او تار را | ازین استعارت ترا عار نیست |
| دخ و زلف را روز و شب تا بکی | کمی وصف، حاجت بتکرار نیست ² |

How long shall we vainly talk of love and its mysteries?

There is no mystery in this (sort of) love ;

Liken not her ruby (lips) to a bag of sugar any more,

O dear ! who is not disgusted with this style ?

Compare not her waist to a hair and her hair to a black serpent ; it is not proper ;

What semblance bears the pomegranate to her breast ?

Artn't thou ashamed of this metaphor ?

How long wilt thou describe the face and the tresses as day and night ? There's no need of repetition.

¹ Nāzimu'l-Islām of Kirmān, *Ta'rikh-i Bidāri-yi Irāniyān* ("History of the Awakening of the Iranians"). Introductory volume, p. 242.

² PPR., pp. 507-8.

Furāt regrets elsewhere to find the same classical words and ideas repeated by the contemporary poets in their compositions. He only wishes he could revive the poetry of the land and bring back its lost spirit. He says :

در شعر و غزل هر چه نظر میکنم این دور
الفاظ و معانی شده تکرار و دگر هیچ
باید که فرات از پی احیای سخن بود
چون کالبدی مانده ز اشعار و دگر هیچ¹

As oft as I look into the poetry and *ghazals* of this period, (I find that) words and ideas have only been repeated and nothing else ;

It behoves Furāt to devote himself to the revival of poesy, as only a form of poesy is left behind and nothing else.

In the following verse, Qulzum advises his colleagues to show originality in their compositions :

حرفی که نگفته اند میباید گفت
دُرّی که نه سُفته اند میباید سفت²

The word they haven't uttered should be spoken, the pearl they haven't bored should be pierced.

The youthful Sarmad is more emphatic when he urges :

سرمَد بر غم انجمن رسم غزل هم تازه کن
چون اوستادان سخن خود را بلند آوازه کن³

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 290.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

O Sarmad! contrary to Society, renew the style of the *ghazal* too ;

Like unto the Masters of Poetry make thyself highly reputed.

Vindicating an open departure of modern poetry from the traditional course, Sarmad says :

سخن گوی باشد زبانِ زمان که حالِ زمان را شود ترجمان
 زمان را کسی ترجمانی کند که با منطقش عمرزبانی کند
 کهن هر چه شد نادر او میشود و گر نو نه گردد فنا میشود
 کهن تا نگردي نو آموز باش بهر روز دانای آروز باش¹

A poet should be the tongue of the age so that he may be an interpreter of the conditions of his time ;

That person alone can interpret Time who converses in its speech ;

Whatever grows old becomes unfit and perishes if not renewed ;

That thou mayest not get antiquated, be a learner of new things ; every day be the wise man of that day.

2. POETRY AS REFLECTING THE STAGES OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Poets' interest in the events of the country. In earlier periods, Persian poets used to keep themselves aloof from national events and were unruffled by wars, invasions and revolts. One cannot imagine a more striking contrast to this than the mental attitude of the contemporary poets who are indeed the sons of

¹ *Sukhan*. ii. 206.

their epoch, and who take interest and participate in such events. We shall review the turning points in the history of Īrān since the beginning of the century and show how the poets echoed the different crises and the part played by them in inspiring their countrymen with a spirit of vitality, educating their minds and implanting in them the love of liberty and independence.

Absolutism of the
Qājārs.

The age-long absolutism of the Qājārs and the high-handedness of their ministers, though tolerated, had already offended the minds and moral sense of the Iranians. They were roused up to fury when the later monarchs of the dynasty continued to grant innumerable concessions¹ to foreign countries in consideration for heavy loans incurred to gratify their extravagant and wicked indulgences. They paid no heed to industrial activities, manufacture, commerce, sanitation, education and other possible developments of the country. The Iranians held the Qājārs responsible for all their misfortunes and the stagnation and degradation that prevailed throughout the country. Āqā Khān of Kirmān has depicted the deplorable condition of Īrān during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh in these words :

مگر حال آن ملک برگشته است

همه جای اهریمنان گشته است

¹ For a complete list of concessions refer to W. Litten's *Persien von der "pénétration pacifique" zum Protektorat, 1860-1919*, Berlin, 1920.

مگر جور و بیداد افزون شده
 جگرهای مردم همه خون شده
 مگر شه کدا گشت و کشور خراب
 رعیت ز جورند در پیچ و تاب¹

Is it not that the condition of the country is upside down and that the whole country has become a place of demons?

Is it not that tyranny and lawlessness have increased and that the people are in misery?

Is it not that the King has become a beggar, the country desolate and the subjects are in distress from oppression?

Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh visited Europe three times² and thereby impoverished the coffers of the State :

خزینہ سہی گشت و ملت گدای
 ز بیداد او دستہا بر خدای
 سه نوبت شتاید سوی فرنگ
 نیفزود او را بدل عار و ننگ³

Being always engaged in hunting excursions and merry-makings he failed in his administrative duties :

چو مست شکار است و محو خوشی
 کجا داند آئین لشکر کشی

¹ Nāzimu'l-Islām, *Ta'riḫ-i Bidāri-ji Irāniyān*, Introductory volume, p. 244.

² First in 1873, second in 1878 and third in 1889.

³ *Ta'riḫ-i Bidāri-ji Irāniyān*, Introductory volume, pp. 254-55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

After Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh was assassinated.

Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh was shot dead while visiting the shrine of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīm' on Friday, May 1, 1896, by Mirzā Muḥammad Rizā of Kirmān¹. Muḥaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh ascended the throne² and was joyously acclaimed in the panegyrics of poets like Amīrī, Khusravī and Ashraf³. No less than his predecessor, he also began to negotiate heavy loans for his lavish European tours⁴, as a result of which the Customs came under the Russian control, as Ja'far-i Sayyāh says retrospectively :

مظفر ز روسها ستانید وام
وزان وام انتاد کمرک بدام

Amīnu's-Sultān who negotiated the Russian loans, was scathingly criticized in a "jelly-graphed" paper by Fakhrū'l-Wā'izīn of Kāshān in a *ghazal* which begins thus :

از منی زاده * یازار مسلمانان را
بکف کفر مده سلطنت ایمان را *

¹ Situated about seven miles to the south of Tīhrān.

² He was hanged on August 12, 1896 after a trial. For the full procedure and cross-examination refer to *Šūr-i Isrāfil*, No. 9, pp. 3-8; No. 10, pp. 1-8; No. 11, pp. 3-5; No. 13, pp. 5-6 and No. 17, pp. 5-7.

³ Born March 25, 1853, crowned June 8, 1896 and died January 4, 1907.

⁴ Vide *Dirān-i Amīrī*, pp. 167-68, *Dirān-i Khusravī*, pp. 62-64 and *Jild-i Durrum-i Nasīm-i Shīmal*, pp. 80-81.

⁵ First tour in 1900 and second in 1902.

⁶ *Pahlavī-nāma*, p. 46, Tīhrān, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35.

⁷ Because his grandfather was a Georgian from the Caucasus.

⁸ *Ta'riḫ-i Bidān-yi Irānīyān*, ii, 236.

Demands for the dismissal of ministers¹, the establishment of a House of Justice ("Adalat-Khāna") and the granting of a Constitution were made and open agitation was set afoot. The Shāh finally had to yield. On Saturday, October, 6, 1906, when the first National Assembly was opened, Adibul-Mamālīk Amīrī wrote a masterly *qaṣīda* congratulating the Assembly and praising the Shāh for granting the new Constitution from which so much was expected. The *qaṣīda* opens thus:

شاه پادشاه ای مجلس ملی که بیم عقر و آب
از تو آید دردم مات را درین دوران طیب
شهریار دادگر بخشود بر قومی ذلیل
حسرو عادل تو هم کرد بر مثنی کثیب²

Well done, O National Assembly! for I see that shortly a physician will come out of thee to cure the present malady of the nation:

The just King hath bestowed it upon the abject Nation, the equitable Sovereign has taken pity upon a handful of hapless creatures.

After Mazaffaru'd-
Dīn Shāh died

Mazaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh died on January 8, 1907, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad 'Alī Shāh³ who soon gave the

¹ 'Asnu'd-Dawla and 'Alau'd-Dawla.

² *Diwān Amīrī*, pp. 53-55.

³ Amīrī has two poems, each containing the chronograms of the accession of Muhammad 'Alī Shāh to the throne, which took place in A.H. 1324. The dates of the composition of the poems are not known. But

Constitutionalists cause to suspect his ulterior motives. The tension between the Court and the Parliament grew more and more acute. On August 31, 1907, 'Abbās Āqā of Tabrīz, a member of a secret terrorist party, assassinated Amīnu's-Sultān and shot himself while resisting arrest. On October 6, 1907, celebrations were held at his grave on the fortieth day of his death ("Chihilum") and Fakhrū'l-Wā'izīn wrote for the occasion a poem of which the first verse is:

ای مزارِ محترم هر چند بزمِ ماتمی
 نیک از بن نو گل که خفت اندر تو شاد و خرمی¹

O Venerable Sepulchre! tho' thou art (a place of)
 mourning assembly,

Yet thou art quite happy and mirthful because of that
 new flower which is resting in thee.

On the day Amīnu's-Sultān was assassinated, the Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed at St. Petersburg. This evoked indignation of many poets like

from the attitude taken, it is clear that one was composed at the time of accession and the other when the Shāh had already become unpopular. The last verse of each poem, with the chronogrammatical portion bracketed, is quoted below. It is interesting to note the difference of attitude in both:

که سالِ جلوسِ همایونش آمد (خداوندِ قآن مکمد علی شه)

—(Divān-i Amīrī, p. 470.)

گشت سالِ جلوسِ او بسریر بی کمر و کاست (ای شه بد بخت)

—(Divān-i Amīrī, p. 111.)

¹ Browne's *Persian Revolution*, pp. 153-54, Cambridge, 1910.

Adib¹ of Niṣhāpūr, Īraj² and Bahār³ who strongly resented it. The first and last verses of Īraj's *qit'a* are :

گویند که انگلیس با روس عهدی بسته است تازه امسال
از صلح میان کوبه و موش بر باد رود دکان بقل

They say that Britain has made this year a new Treaty with Russia :

The grocer's shop will be despoiled owing to the agreement between the mice and the cat.

Bahār addressed a *qaṣīda* to Sir Edward Grey in which he pointed out to him that the Anglo-Russian Agreement was a diplomatic error of the first magnitude as it removed the barrier that had so long stood on Russia's road to India. The *qaṣīda* begins thus :

سوی لندن گذر ای پاک نسیم صبحی
صبحی از من بر کو به سر ادوارد گری

Hasten to London, O Pure Zephyr of dawn !

Deliver a message of mine to Sir Edward Grey.

The Shāh attempted a *coup d'état* on December 15, 1907, but failed. Ashraf referred to this event in two *mustazād* poems, written in his usual pessimistic strain. The opening verses read :

گردید وطن غرته اندوه و محن وای ایوای وطن وای
خیزید روید از بی تابوت و کفن وای ایوای وطن وای⁴

¹ *Sukhan* i, 11

² *Ib. id.*, p. 11, footnote 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-64; also *PPMP.*, pp. 253-55.

⁴ *Nasim-i Shumāl*, No. 9, dated January 2, 1908: *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 194-95; *PPMP.*, pp. 183-84.

Alas! the Country is submerged in grief and affliction,

Alas! Alas! O Mother Country!

Ah, rise and arrange for the bier and shroud,

Alas! Alas! O Mother Country.

دوش میگفت این سخن دیوانه بی بازخواست درد ایران بیدواست

عاقلی گفتا که از دیوانه بشنو حرف راست درد ایران بیدواست¹

Last night a lunatic uttered this unquestioned: "Īrān's malady is incurable";

A wise man said, "Hear these true words from a lunatic: Īrān's malady is incurable."

On June 23, 1908, the *Majlis* was bombarded and the despotic rule of the *Shāh* was re-established. Mīrzā Jahāngīr *Khān* *Šūr*, Ḥājī Maliku'l-Mutakallīmīn and other prominent leaders were put to death. These actions caused indignation to many poets like Amīrī², Bahār³, Pūr-i Dāvūd⁴ and Dihkhudā⁵.

In a poem written at Beirut on June 28, 1908, Pūr-i Dāvūd with bitterness pronounced:

شام عم باز نمودار شد افسوس افسوس

دل از ظلمت آن تار شد افسوس افسوس

مست پارینه که از باده کشی توبه نمود

باز در خانه خمار شد افسوس افسوس

¹ *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, No. 10, dated January 20, 1908; *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 197-98; *Sukhan*, i, 149-50; *PPMP.*, pp. 185-86.

² *Divān-i Amīrī*, pp. 84-85, 86-89, 181-82, 300, 301-302, 320-21 and 683-84.

³ *Sukhan*, i, 378-81.

⁴ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeḥ*, p. 23.

⁵ *Šūr-i Isrāfīl*, No. 3, dated Yverdon, March 8, 1909; *Armaghān*, i, No. 3, pp. 33-34; *Sukhan*, i, 90-91; *PPMP.*, pp. 201-202; *Ḥablu'l-Matīn*, dated November 11, 1912.

Alas! Alas! the eve of sorrow has appeared again,
 Alas! Alas! my mind is befogged with its obscurity;
 Alas! Alas! the old drunkard who had vowed abstinence,
 has entered the tavern again.

When the Constitutionalists of Tabriz began to fight under the leadership of Sattār Khān Sardār-i Millī, Ashraf prayed for their success:

مَلَّتِ تَبْرِیزِ خُدا یارِ تان
 دَسْتُ خُدائی کَمکِ کارِ تان
 ریشۀ ظالم ز شما کُندۀ شد نامِ شما باقی و پاینده شد
 دینِ عِدِّ ز شما زنده شد احمدِ مختارِ نگم‌دارِ تان
 مَلَّتِ تَبْرِیزِ خُدا یارِ تان
 دَسْتُ خُدائی کَمکِ کارِ تان
 حضرت سَتَّارِ بَرغمِ حَسودِ سَتَرِ عیوب از همه ایران نمود
 نِشۀ اَگر حَمَله نماید چہ سودِ صِرَصرِ عاد است جلودارِ تان¹

O people of Tabriz! may God be your defender,
 May the Divine Hand help your undertaking!
 The tyrant has been torn up by the roots by you,
 Your name has become durable and immortal,
 The Faith of Muḥammad has been enlivened by you;
 May the chosen Aḥmad be your guardian!
 O people of Tabriz! may God be your defender,
 May the Divine Hand help your undertaking!
 Belying the wishes of the envious, the Hon'ble Sattār
 Redeemed the honour of Īrān,

¹ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 210.

If gnats attack, 'tis of no avail,
 (As) the boisterous wind of 'Ād¹ is under your
 command.

Insurrections broke out all over the country. On January 5, 1909, Şamşāmu's-Saltāna and Zarghāmu's-Saltāna with the help of Bakhtiyārī tribesmen seized Işfahān. Ashraf congratulated them in a poem, the first verse of which reads :

اصفهان کشته ماوای شیران آفرین
 کرده بنیاد استبداد ویران آفرین²

Bravo, O Işfahān! thou hast become a lair of lions.
 Bravo! thou hast destroyed the foundation of
 despotism.

On February 8, 1909, the Nationalists seized Rasht and were joined by the *Sipahdār-i A'zam* who was in command of the Royalist troops at the siege of Tabriz. The *Sipahdār* was warmly congratulated in the following words :

روشن و تابنده باد نام سپهدار باقی و پاینده باد نام سپهدار
 هم بفلک ثبت در جراید عرشی هم بزمین زنده باد نام سپهدار³

Distinguished and illustrious be the name of the
Sipahdār, enduring and lasting be the name of the
Sipahdār;

In heaven, too, may his name be recorded in celestial
 tome and even on earth the name of the *Sipahdār*
 be everlasting.

The Nationalist forces, assisted by the Bakhti-

¹ An ancient people of South Arabia who were destroyed by a violent blast of wind. Vide *Qur'ān* : lxi, 6.

² *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 211.

³ *Nasīm-i Shīmāl*, No. 27, dated March 5, 1909 also *PPMP.*, p. 206.

yāns entered Tihzan on July 13, 1909, unopposed by the Cossacks. The Shah fled to the Russian Legation at Zorandāp. On July 16, 1909, he was deposed and his twelve-year old son Ahmad Mirzā was proclaimed Shah with 'Azadul-Mulk as Regent. This "National Victory" (Farh-i Milli) and the termination of the "Latter Autocracy" (Ishtidād-i Šāhir) were rejoiced over by many poets. Bahār wrote a spirited poem which begins thus:

می ده که می شد خود را نجات
آسوده شد ملت ملت شد

Give wine, for the soul-consuming period has ended, the country is in tranquillity: 'tis the kingdom of God!

After the revolution Now revolutionary repressions
(cf. *Alam-i Sāz*) began and among several others²
Shaykh Faḡlu'llah Nūrī, the reactionary priest, was
executed³. Ashraf, Amiri and Bahār wrote poems

¹ Ashraf wrote a poem on the flight of the Shah, the last in a series of which are quoted below. It may be remarked that the verses placed within brackets constitute a chronogram giving the date of his flight.

آخر الامر از دیندار و سرباز گشته مستغنی و بیزار شده
حسرت از طبع امیری تار و پود گفت الله مات سچیدار شده

—Firdausi A-10, p. 472

² *Idnā Nāz*, No. 1, dated August 24, 1909, *PPMP*, p. 218, 20.

³ Such as Muṣṭafā'ul-Mulk, the former head of the Tihzan Police, Ājūlshāhchī under whose command the Mahal was bombarded and San'āi Hāzrat who had taken a prominent part in the abortive *conspiration* of December, 1907.

⁴ On the gallows, before he was executed, he is said to have recited this couplet:

اگر بار گران بودیم رفتیم اگر نا سربازان بودیم رفتیم

—Browne's *Persian Revolution*, p. 441.

expressing their satisfaction. The opening verse of Amīrī's poem describes Shaykh Nūrī as a thick-necked Muftī, peril to honour and embezzler of other's property :

شیخ نودی مفتی کردن کلفت
آفت غیرت بلای مال مفت¹

A few days after the restoration of the Majlis, the notorious brigand, Raḥīm Khān Chalabiyanlū, raised the standard of rebellion in Āzarbāyjān, but after a defeat on January 24, 1910, he escaped to Russia. Russia gave asylum to the rebel. Lāhūtī who is at present in the USSR, expressed his resentment thus :

تفو بغیرت آن بی حقوق بی ناموس
که بعد ازین همه زشتی پناه برد بروس²

Fie on the sense of shame of that infamous outlaw who after all these misdeeds took shelter in Russia.

On September 9, 1909, the ex-Shāh left Tīhrān for Odessa. Munīr of 'Ishqābād wrote a sarcastic poem under the title :

”خواب پریشان محمد علی میرزا اولین شب زندگانی در اودیسای
روسیه“

(The distracted dream of Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā, during the first night of his arrival at Odessa in Russia).

Some of the verses of the poem read :

¹ *Divān-i Amīrī*, p. 112.

² *Īrān-i Naw*, No. 129, dated February 9, 1910 ; also *PPMP.*, p. 228.

خواب می بینم که گویا شاه ایرانم هنوز
در میان باغ خود در غمی و غصه‌ایم هنوز¹

I am dreaming that I am still the Shah of Iran and inside my garden am still engaged in violence and
sins

The renewal of the Fishery Concession (شولات) to the Russian Lyanozoff incensed Ashraf who wrote a poem entitled *Qāqāliān* (Cock-a-doodle-do!). The verse having a reference to the concessionaire is cited below:

در انزلی امروز سخن می صوف است
دعوی لیاوزوف بسم صوف است²

There is a dreadful talk at Enzeli to-day, Lyanozoff's claims are to the lake (fish).

Russia obstructed the Iranians at every step in their attempt to set their house in order and hampered the work of the American financial experts under Mr. W. Morgan Shuster who came to Iran in May, 1911, finally obtaining his dismissal. In a pathetic *taṣnif* entitled *Yā Marg yā Istiqlāl* ("Either Death or Independence"), 'Ārif urged his countrymen to keep Mr. Shuster back, as will appear from the following:

گر رود شوستر از ایران شود ایران برباد (حبیب)
ای جوانان مگذارید که ایران برود (برود)³

¹ *Irān-i Nau*, No. 91, dated December 16, 1910; also *PPMP.*, p. 220.

² *PPMP.*, p. 230

³ *Dihān-i 'Ārif*, p. 20 (Taṣnif Section); *Sulḥān* i. 201 and *PPMP.*, p. 251

Should Shuster go away from Īrān, Īrān will be ruined,
O Young Men! let not Īrān go away.

In August 1911, the ex-Shāh, in an attempt to regain the throne was defeated at Fīrūzkūh. This event has found an echo in a *mustazād* poem by Ashraf who says :

مَدْلَى تَكِيه بَقُولِ وَ غَزَلِ دُوسِ نَمُودِ تَرَكِ نَامُوسِ نَمُودِ¹

"Mamdali" (i.e. Muḥammad 'Alī) relied upon the promises and false hopes of Russia; he lost his dignity.

On March 29, 1912, the shrine of the eighth Imām, 'Alī ar-Riṣā at Mashhad, was bombarded by the Russians. Many poets shuddered at the news. Ashraf² in his poem *Yā gharība'l-Ghurabā* writes :

دَر هِزَارِ وَ سِیْصَدِ وَ سِیْ شَدِ نِشَانِ تَوْبِ کَیْنِ
مَرَقْدِ شَاهِ خِرَاسَانِ آنِ اِمَامِ هَشْتَمِیْنِ³

In 1330 the sepulchre of the eighth Imām, the Lord of Khurāsān, became the target of spiteful cannon.

During the coronation of Aḥmad Shāh, Pūr-i Dāvūd gave expression to his feelings in a poem referring to the Turkoman origin of the Qājārs and

¹ PPMP., pp. 247-48; *Nasīm-i Shīnāl*, third year, No. 12, dated September 11, 1911.

² On the fall of Czarist régime in March, 1917, Ashraf wrote another poem reminding Nicholas II (1868-1918) of the Russian bombardment of the Sanctuary of the Imām. The refrain of each strophe is:

بَا آلِ عَلِیْ هَر کِه دَرِ افْتَادِ بَرِ افْتَادِ

—*Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 246.

³ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 34-35.

castigating him as an alien :

احمد بیگانه است گرچه شده شه
نیست ز بیگانه جز سیاهی و تاری¹

Ahmad is an alien, although he has become a king,
from a foreigner you can expect nothing but sorrow
and despair.

When the Great War broke out in 1914 and military operations spread over the territory of neutral *Īrān*, *Ashraf* pathetically exclaimed :

چه خوش بود این جنگ و دعوا نمیشد
روی زمین شور و غوغا نمیشد²

How happy would it have been, had there been no war
and no hostility, no tumult and affright on earth !

Also the poetess *Nimtāj Khānum* of *Salmās* who lost her father and other relatives during the massacres at *Urūmiyya*, *Salmās* and *Rasht*, expressed her grief in a poem which begins as :

ایرانیان که قرّ کیان آرزو کنند
باید نخست کاوه خود جستجو کنند³

The Iranians, who aspire after the Kayānian glory,
should first find out their (leader like) *Kāva*.

The poets, in some sense or other, were interested in foreign struggles. *Sālār* of *Shīrāz* exhorted his countrymen to join the British :

اتحاد با آلمان بهر ما زیان دارد
سود باشد ارگردی دوست با بریطانی⁴

¹ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeḥ*, p. 39.

² *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 71-72.

³ *Sukhan*, i, 38-39, footnote., *PPR.*, pp. 638-39.

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, 144.

Friendship with Germany is detrimental to us, it will be beneficial if thou wilt be friendly to Britain.

The opposite opinion was expressed by Vahīd-i Dastgardī who wrote a *musammat* poem in praise of the Germans and derogatory to the Allies. The poem begins thus :

منفجر کشت جو نارنجک عراق اروپ
 صلحرا کنگره بشکست و براکند کلوب¹

When the incendiary bombs of Europe burst forth, peace congresses and clubs broke into pieces.

Adīb-i Pīshāwarī composed a long *maṣnavī*, entitled "*Qaiṣarnāma*", in praise of the Kaiser and in condemnation of England.

A far-reaching Anglo-Persian Treaty was concluded in 1919 by Vuṣṭuqu'd-Dawla who became the target of severe comments. 'Īshqī² criticizing him in an allegorical poem, says :

دلم بس ز کردار آن خواجه سوخت
 که ما را بنام غلامی فروخت³

I was much terrified at the behaviour of the Master who sold us as slaves.

Furrukhī, too, wrote a *ghazal*⁴ and a *qaṣīda*⁵ denouncing the action of Vuṣṭuq.

In February 1921, a new cabinet was formed by Sayyid Ziyāu'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the editor of the

¹ Vahīd-i Dastgardī, *Rah-Āvard*, pp. 12-22, Tīhrān, A.H. 1307 (Solar).

² He has three other poems opposing the Anglo-Persian Treaty, see his *Divān*, pp. 108-15.

³ *Divān-i 'Īshqī*, pp. 156-57, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, p. 316.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

Ra'd. It was during his premiership that the Anglo-Persian Convention was repudiated and the well-known Russo-Persian Treaty was signed at Moscow on February 26, 1921, which was most favourably commented on by several poets, as may be seen from these anonymous lines:

شد دموکرات از زبانه‌ها دور فرقه بالشویک نمود ظهور
.....

گاونز را الاغ گاز گرفت انگلیسی ره حجاز گرفت¹

Sayyid Ziyāu'd-Dīn soon became unpopular and had to resign on April 3, 1921. This failure was variously commented upon. Furāt records it in the following lines:

سیدی شد بر اسب بخت سوار
واندرین جلگه چند روزی تاخت
چون سواری نکرده بود او را
اسب در حین تاختن انداخت²

My Sayyid mounted the steed of fortune and rode for some days on this plain;

As he had never tried (the horse), it threw him down while running.

On the other hand, 'Ārif expressed a wish that Ziyāu'd-Dīn should come back, in a song composed to the *Shūr* tune, which begins thus:

ای دست حق پست و پناعت باز آ
چشم آرزومند نگاهت باز آ³

¹ *Gul-i Zard*, 3rd year, No. 10, dated Muḥarram 5, 1340.

² *Sukhan*, i, 287.

³ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 58-61 (Taṣnīf Section); *Sukhan*, i, 209.

O thou whom God's hand backs and shields! come back, O thou whom our eyes are longing to see! come back.

When the Qājār dynasty fell, Pūr-i Dāvūd composed a *musammaṭ* poem, which begins thus :

از پیک نوید آمد هان گوش فرا دار
 کاحمد شه ایران شد از تحت نگونسار
 اورنگ شاهی پاک شد از دیوتبه کار
 وز راهزن و ترکمن دوده قاجار¹

Happy tidings have come by messenger, hear attentively that Aḥmad Shāh has been dethroned ;

The Royal throne has been purged clean of the malicious demon, the scion of the lawless Turkoman Qājārs.

‘Ārif further voiced his condemnation of the dynasty in a song² composed to the tune *Bayāt-i Turk*, which he sang in a concert given on March 11, 1924, at Tīhrān. It begins thus :

رحم ای خدای دادگر کردی نکردی
 ابقا باعقاب تاجر کردی نکردی³

O just God! Did You show mercy? No, You didn't. Did You spare the descendants of the Qājārs? No, You didn't.

Appearance of
 Rīzā Shāh.

Rīzā Shāh was crowned King on
 April 25, 1926. He was admired as

¹ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeḥ*, pp. 86-88.

² It was this song that lost ‘Ārif the friendship of Īraj Mīrzā and elicited from his pen the ‘*Ārif-nāma*, vehemently attacking ‘Ārif. See p. 22 *Supra*.

³ *Divān-i ‘Ārif*, pp. 43-44 (Taṣnīf Section); *Sukhan*, i, 207.

a popular hero by several poets like Ashraf, Ra'dī, 'Atā, Nādirī, Dānīsh of Iṣfahān, Dānīsh of Tīhrān, Shu'ā, Qulzum and others. Qulzum praises him thus :

چشم بد از تو دور باد شما خوب خدمت به مملکت کردی
 پای بر مشکلات افشردی با موانع مبارزت کردی
 با ملوک الطوائف ایران تا بآخر مقاومت کردی
 هر چه کردی بنفع ملت و ملک از ده لطف و معدلت کردی¹

Avaunt malicious glances from thee, O King ! thou didst good service to the Country ;

Thou didst put thy feet firmly on difficulties and didst fight against hindrances ;

Thou didst resist feudalism in Irān till the last ;

Whatever thou didst, thou didst for the benefit of the nation and country with kindness and justice.

How the poets found their inspiration even in matters more diplomatic, will be understood from the following humorous lines of Rūḥānī, in which he has refuted the British opinion regarding Bahrein :

انگلیس جسور در دنیا گفته بحرین مال ایران نیست
 و آنکه گوید ز انگلستان است صاحب علم و عقل و وجدان نیست²

Britain, the most impudent on earth, said that Bahrein did not belong to Irān ;

Anyone who holds that it belongs to England, has no knowledge, sense and conscience.

Freedom of speech like the freedom of the Press has experienced considerable restriction under the

¹ *Haftād Mawj*, p. 25, Berlin, 1929; *Sukhan*, ii, 294.

² *Sukhan*, i, 133.

present régime which, though nominally constitutional, is in fact dictatorial. 'Ishqī once criticized the government of Rīzā Shāh in his *Qarn-i Bistūm* ("The Twentieth Century"), and was found murdered. Farrukhī heard of his assassination and in his deep grief extemporized the following short poem, the last verse of which contains the chronogram giving the date of 'Ishqī's martyrdom. The words *Dīv-i Muhib* ("The dreadful Demon") in the poem allude, it is said, to the Shāh. The poem runs thus:

دیوِ مہیبِ خود سری چون ز غضب گرفت دم
امنیت از محیطِ ما رخت بہ بہت و گشت گم
حرۂ وحشت و ترور کشت چہ میرزادہ را
سالِ شہادتش بخوان عشقی قرنِ بیستم¹

Ever since the dreadful and ferocious demon has raised its tail, security has left the country bag and baggage, and has vanished;

When the weapon of terror and barbarity killed 'Ishqī, read the date of his martyrdom as "Ishqī of the Twentieth Century".

Bahār, too, on account of his democratic views, would have met the same fate, but he redeemed his opinions by presenting to the Shāh four *qaṣīdas* known as *Chahār Khitāba*² ("The Four Addresses"). Some verses, selected from here and there, offering his apology may be quoted below:

¹ *Divān-i Farrukhī*, p. 118. Tīhrān, A.H. 1320 (Solar); *Sukhan*. i, 226; *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 5.

² Published at Tīhrān on the Nawrūz of A.H. 1305 (Solar).

شاه شدی کسوت شاهی ببوش چشم ز تنگیل و تباغی ببوش
 دشمنی شه بکسی در خود است کش عوس بادشهی در سر است
 قدرت و جاه تو شما در زمین کم نه شود از من و صد همچو من
 بنده خطائی ننمودم و گر کرده‌ام ای شاه ز من در گذر¹

Thou hast become a king, put on the Royal robe, think
 not of punishment and destruction :

Animosity of the king is justified with a man who
 aspires after the throne :

O King! thy power and grandeur will not be dimi-
 nished by me and a hundred like me :

I have done no wrong and if I have, O King! forgive
 me.

The present régime is decidedly unfavourable to the expression of any individual views on the politics of the country. Poets or writers dare not criticize the *Shāh* or his government². On the contrary, commendations of the *Shāh* and the Crown Prince or their actions, whether justifiable or not, may bring satisfaction and security to the panegyrist. In the circumstances, the poets will have to relapse into panegyrics, while the attention of many of them has already been diverted to pure lyricism or more utilitarian poetry.

3. PAN-ISLAMISM

Modern Pan-Islamism with its anti-Western tendencies dates from the seventies of the last century, when the integrity of the Muslim States was

¹ *Chahār Khutāba*, pp. 3, 5 and 20.

² It may be remarked that to-day there is not a single Persian newspaper in which any space for a leading article is reserved.

jeopardized by European powers. So far as Īrān is concerned, this movement affected her but little, due to her traditional nationalistic feelings, religious schism, rivalry with Turkey and, above all, her political and moral decadence. Yet there are some Persian poets, who in their stirring poems, have appealed to their co-religionists for urgent solidarity against Western domination.

In A.H. 1313 (A.D. 1895-96), Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn of Bārdasīr, better known as Mīrzā Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī¹, a disciple of Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Asadābādī, while in prison at Trebizonde, composed a long poem entitled *Nāma-i Bāstān*² in imitation of the *Shāhnāma*. This poem contains a scathing condemnation of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh and an eulogistic tribute to the late Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd of Turkey. There are also many verses in the poem which reflect the whole-hearted support of the poet. Some of the verses are quoted below :

همی خواستم تا که اسلامیان بوحدت ببندند یکسر میان
 همه دوستی باهم افزون کنند ز دل کین دیرینه بیرون کنند
 مر اسلامیان را فزاید شرف نفاق و جدائی شود بر طرف
 در اسلام آید بفرّ حمید یکی اتحاد سیاسی پدید³

I always wished that the Muslims might with one accord gird up their loins in unity,

¹ For his biography refer to the *Ta'rikh-i Bidāri-yi Īrāniyān*, pp. 6-13, (introductory volume) and Browne's *Persian Revolution*, p. 409, Cambridge, 1910.

² Also called *Sālār-nāma*.

³ *Ta'rikh-i Bidāri-yi Īrāniyān*, p. 256 (introductory volume) ; *Āyanda*, ii, 917 ; Browne's *Persian Revolution*, p. 410.

In A.H. 1339 (A.D. 1920-21) Vahid-i Dastgardi published a poem in his *Armaghān* under the caption "جکامۀ اتحاد اسلامی" ("A qaṣīda on Islamic Unity"). In the poem he expresses his deep sorrow at the general decadence of the Muslim world, approves the views of Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn regarding the Pan-Islamic movement and ends the poem with the praises of Aḥmad Shāh and Amānu'llāh, the ex-King of Afghānistān. His appreciation of the Pan-Islamic movement is reflected in the following verses:

بقسَمِ آخِرینِ خوش گفته آن داشورِ اَوَّل
 جلالِ مَلَّتِ ایرانِ جمالِ الدینِ افغانی
 که ای اسلامیان از دور تا نزدیک و که تا مه
 تمار و ترک و تازی پارس افغان هند و سودانی
 فرو شوئید از دل یکسره زانگِ نفاق و کین
 که میزاید هلاکِ نفسِ زاین اغراضِ نفسانی¹

In the last century well spake that premier savant, the glorious one of the Iranian nation, Jamālu'd-Dīn Afghānī,

"O Muslims! from far and near, young and old, Tartars, Turks, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans, Indians and Sudanese,

Clear amain the rust of enmity and rancour from your hearts, as annihilation of the soul follows from these selfish motives.

In similar manner many other poets² expressed

¹ *Armaghān*, i, No. 5, p. 31.

² See *Dīvān-i Adib-i Pishdewārī*, pp. 136-155. Tīhrān. A.H. 1312 (Solar) and Dihqān's *Hadiya-i Sharq*, Maṣḥad A.H. 1300 (Solar); Shāykhū'r-Ra'īs-i Qājār, poetically surnamed *Hayrat*, wrote a prose work entitled "*Itṭihād-u'l-Islām*" ("Union of Islam").

their deep sorrow at the general decadence and stagnation of the Muslims throughout the world and have voiced their appeals through their stirring verses for unity and solidarity against foreign aggression.

4. SOCIALISTIC VIEWS

On February 26, 1921, a Soviet-Persian Treaty was signed in Moscow, and in the same year, Farrukhī of Yazd¹ started a communistic paper "*Tūfān*" ("The Tempest") in which articles and poems reflecting socialistic views appeared regularly. Besides this, Persian periodicals² and publications³ from the USSR began to find their way into the country. The propagation of these socialistic ideas was condemned as it was not only repugnant to the religion and custom of the country but in conflict with the new autocratic State born in Īrān by that time. Their staunch adherents fled to the USSR perhaps never to see their mother country again.

The most enthusiastic amongst the poets with socialistic tendencies is, no doubt, Lāhūtī of Kirmānshāh who at present is working in the USSR⁴. Two of his socialistic poems, '*Kirimil*'⁵ ("Kremlin") and

¹ He was invited to Moscow on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Republic.

² The *Ārāz-i Tājik* started at Samarqand in 1924 and the *Shu'la-i Inqilāb* started at Samarqand in 1919.

³ *Kirimil* by Lāhūtī, Moscow, 1923; *Ahgar-i Inqilāb* by Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī, Bukhārā, 1923; *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik* by Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī, Samarqand, 1925 etc.

⁴ *Encycl. of Islām*, iii, 1065.

⁵ *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 587-93, Samarqand, 1925.

*Inqilāb-i Surkh*¹ ("The Red Revolution"), may be regarded as his masterpieces. The first begins with:

تا چند کنی گریه بر مسندِ نوشیروان؟
در قصر "کرمل" ایدل اسرارِ نهانِ برخوان!

How long shalt thou shed tears over the throne of Nūshīrvān?

O Heart! read the secrets hidden in the Kremlin.

This poem, which comprises sixty-one verses, was first published in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Kirimil* at Moscow in 1923². It is a vehement attack directed against Imperialism.

The second poem '*Inqilāb-i Surkh*' which, in its matter and tone, is similar to the first, appeared for the first time in October, 1923, at Moscow in a Miscellany ("Majmū'a") published on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Republic. It consists of nine verses, two of which are being quoted below:

نوشم بشادمانی آندم شرابِ سرخ
کز شرق انقلاب دمد آفتابِ سرخ
نازم بآن زمان که به نیروی پتک و داس
دهقان نهد بگردنِ سلطانِ طنابِ سرخ³

¹ *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 593-94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 593.

³ Several Tājik poets like 'Abdu'r-Ra'ūf Fiṭrat, Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid Munazzim, Aḥmad Jān Ḥamdī, Ḥabību'llāh Awḥadī and Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī composed poems in imitation of this poem.

—*Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 593-98.

Blithely I'll drink Red Wine at the time the Red Sun
will effect a revolution in the East ;

Proud I'll be at the moment when, with the triumph
of the " Hammer and Sickle ", the peasant will lay
Red Ropes round the necks of kings.

In the following lines Farrukhī of Yazd longs
for a revolution, which will inaugurate a total
change :

در کهن ایران ویران انقلابی تازه باید
سخت ازین سست مردم قتل بی اندازه باید
تا مگراز زرد دویی رخ بتایم ای حریفان
چهره ما را ز خون سرخ دشمن غازه باید¹

In old and devastated Irān a new revolution should
break out, there should be a terrible massacre of
these lethargic people ;

May be, O rivals ! that we will discard our bashfulness,
the crimson blood of the foe should be rouge for our
faces.

Another of Farrukhī's poem published in the
*Armaghān*² under the following heading contains
allusions to Red motives :

خانه ماست همان خانه که دارد در سرخ

The house that has a Red door is ours.

Sayyid Abu'l Qāsim *Zarra*³ and Sayyid 'Abdu'l-
Ḥusayn *Hisābī*⁴, now in the USSR, are two other
poets who propagated strong socialistic views through

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 322.

² *Armaghān*, i, No 9, p. 11 ; *Divān-i Farrukhī*, p. 22.

³ *Dānīsh-kada*, p. 55 ; also *Sukhan*. ii, 182 f. n. 1.

⁴ *Sukhan*. ii, 182 f. n. 1.

their poetic compositions published in the 'Gul-i Zard'.

Yahyá Raiḥān was imprisoned in the lunatic asylum for the highly socialistic articles published in his political paper 'Nawrūz¹'. In one of his poems he has commended Lenin².

Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī, though not a socialist, has produced at least three poems in which communistic opinions have found expression. A verse from each is cited below :

ثروت آنکس که میباشد فزون باید گرفت
و آنکه کم از دیگران دارد فزون بایست کرد³

The wealth of the man who has more, should be taken away ;

And that of those who have less than others should be increased.

مالك و دهقان غنى و بينوا شاه و گدا

محو بايد گردد از دوى زمين اين نامها⁴

The landlord and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the king and the beggar ;

These names should be erased out from the face of the earth.

شايد که ضعیفان را اوضاع شود بهتر
در گیتی اگر مجری دستورِ لنین باشد⁵

Perhaps the condition of the feeble will be better, if the principles of Lenin are followed throughout the earth.

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 183.

² *Bāghcha-i Raiḥān*, pp. 38-42, Tīhrān, A.H. 1338,

³ *Sukhan*. i, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*,

But these poems definitely failed to produce any effect on the Iranian mind. The twentieth century communism met the same fate in Īrān as communism in its early form introduced by Mazdak¹ during the reign of Kubād I (A.D. 487-98 and A.D. 501-31).

5. RECOLLECTION OF PAST GLORIES

The downfall of the Iranian nation prior to the advent of the present Shāh is well known. The ignominy the Iranians were put to always kept them alive to the lost magnificence and glory of ancient Īrān and her kings.

Amīrī in a song headed "*Surūd-i Millī*"² ("National Anthem"), visualizes Cyrus the Great, as being alive and asks the Zephyr to blow in the direction of Pasargadæ and implore Cyrus on their behalf to look after Īrān in her deplorable condition. The song comprises five strophes and begins with:

ز راه کرم ای نسیم سحرگه
سوی پارساگرد بگذر از این ره
بسیروس از ما بگو کای شهنشه

چرا کشتی از حال این ملک غافل²

O Zephyr of the dawn! deign to pass towards
Pasargadæ by this way;

¹ A. Christensen's *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme Mazdakite*, Copenhagen, 1925.

² *Dirān-i Amīrī*, pp. 682-83; *Sukhan*, ii, 61-63.

Unto Cyrus, on our behalf, speak, "O Sovereign!
why hast thou turned indifferent to the fate of
this country?"

On the Nawrūz of A.H. 1322 (21st March, 1904), Farrukhī of Yazd recited a *musammaʿ* at a meeting of the Independent Party of Yazd, in which he inveighed against the autocracy of the Government and expressed his indignation at the British and Russian domination over Īrān. At this, Zāighamu'd-Dawla, the then Governor of Yazd, was offended and under his orders the poet was put into prison and his lips were sewn¹. The lines that have references to the ancient monarchs and heroes of Īrān are as follows :

این همان ایران که منزلگاه کیکاووس بود
خوابگاه داریوش و مامن سیروس بود
جای زال و رستم و گودرز و گیو و طوس بود
نی چنین پامال جور انگیس و روس بود²

Is this the same Īrān which was (once) the halting
place of Kai-Kā'ūs,

The resting-place of Darius and the peaceful abode
of Cyrus,

The land of Zāl, Rustam, Gūdarz, Giv and Tūs?

Never was it so trampled upon as now by British and
Russian oppression.

Ashraf of Gīlān has lamented over the past
greatness and grandeur of Īrān in the following
words :

¹ In 1930 when I was in Tīhrān, I noticed marks of the stitches still showing on his lips.

² *Divān-i Farrukhī*, p. 71; *Sukhan*. i, 314.

آتقدرت و شجاعت و جوش و خروش کو
شیرانِ جنگِ جویِ پلنگینه پوش کو¹

Where is that power, valour, enthusiasm or fervour?
Where the warlike lions well clad in panthers' skin?

Pūr-i Dāvūd in his poem "*Īrāniyān! Īrāniyān!*" composed on September 1, 1915, ardently reminds his countrymen of the past glories of Īrān, the triumphs and achievements of her worthy monarchs. He passionately appeals further to them to rise up, unsheathe their swords and put their enemies to rout. A few verses of the poem are:

آدید یاد آن روز را آن لشکر پیروز را
یادی هم از شاهنشاهان ایرانیان
جمشید و سام و زاب کو طهمورث و داراب کو
کو ایرج از پیشینیان ایرانیان
کودش چه شد که بوج کو کو اردشیر و فراو
کیخسرو آن شاه کیان ایرانیان²

Call to mind those (ancient) days and those victorious armies, bring to mind also your sovereigns, O Iranians! O Iranians!

Where are Jamshīd, Sām and Zāb? Where Tahmūras and where Dārāb? Where Īraj of the Pīshdādiyān? O Iranians! O Iranians!

What has become of Cyrus? Where is Cambyzes? Where is Ardešhīr and where his pomp? Where is Kai-Khusrav, the Kayānian king? O Iranians! O Iranians!

¹ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 55-56; *Sukhan*, i, 166.

² *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 44 (Text).

'Ārif¹, Baiḏā'i², Ḥusām-zāda³, Raiḥān⁴, Šūratgar⁵ and Masrūr⁶ are, among others, who have contributed poems with reference to the bygone glories of ancient Īrān, her magnificent monarchs and invincible warriors.

6. GLORIFICATION OF ZOROASTER AND HIS RELIGION

Religious intolerance and fanaticism are two things that are rapidly dying out in Īrān. The Iranians not only have genuine sympathy and good feeling for all Zoroastrians whom they look upon as members of the same race and blood but have also begun to proclaim their regard and affection for the religion of their remote ancestors. Poets, too, are proudly singing the glories of Zarathushtra and his religion.

In 1918 Dānīsh of Iṣfahān composed a poem of thirty-seven verses in praise of Zoroaster. In the same year the poem was published in the form of a booklet at Iṣtānbūl with the title *Kunjkāvī dar Zartušt*. The booklet also contains a short critical biography of Zoroaster by him. A major portion of the poem has been included in the second volume

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 214; *Divān-i 'Ārif*, p. 35 (Song Section).

² *Sukhan*. ii, 77.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 73-76.

⁴ *Bāghcha-i Raiḥān*, p. 8.

⁵ *Sukhan*. ii, 264-65; *Nav Bahār*, No. 27, p. 474, A.H. 1341.

⁶ *Sukhan*. ii. 332-33.

of the *Sukhanvarān-i Īrān*¹. We should quote only the closing verse in which he represents himself as the Ḥassān of Zoroaster as against Ḥassān b. Šābit, the panegyrist of the Prophet Muḥammad :

شنیدستم که ختم انبیا را بود حسانی
کنون در کیش یزدانی منم حسان زرتشتی²

I've heard that the last of the prophets had a Ḥassān,
Now in the Yazdānī faith I'm the Zoroastrian Ḥassān.

On the 20th June, 1920, while in Berlin, Pūr-i Dāvūd who has translated into Persian the *Gāthās*, *Yashts*, *Khordeh Avestā* and *Yasnā*, composed a poem entitled *Amashāspandān*³ comprising 174 verses. In this long poem the poet has described how the seraphic messenger appeared to Zoroaster in a vision and led his soul in a trance to the glorious presence of *Ahura Mazda* and the six *Amesha Spentas* who instructed him in the cardinal doctrines of the Religion⁴. Then, after speaking of the glories and decadence of Īrān, he closes the poem with a prayer to *Ahura Mazda* for his mercy and grace. The opening verse is :

یکی بامدادان فرو شد سروش
به زرتشت اسپندان زد خروش

¹ *Sukhan*, ii, 121-24.

² *Kunjkāvi dar Zartusht*, p. 13, Ištānbūl, 1918 ; *Sukhan*, ii, 124.

³ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeḥ*, pp. 68-75, also *PPR.*, pp. 236-40.

⁴ For a detailed description see A. V. W. Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 36-42, London, 1899.

One morn the Seraph came down to Zarathushtra
Spitama (and) exclaimed.

Pūr-i Dāvūd has often referred to Zoroaster and his religion in other poems too. These compositions show the profound respect and sympathy he cherishes at heart for the Zoroastrian faith.

Ma'ānī of Shīrāz pays his tribute to Zoroaster in the following words :

جان من بادا فدای زرددهشت بنده ام در خاک پای زرددهشت
آنکه عالم را منور کرده است نیست جز نور صفای زرددهشت¹

May my life be sacrificed for Zoroaster, I am a slave
sitting in the dust at Zoroaster's feet ;

That which has enlightened the world is nothing save
the bright effulgence of Zoroaster.

Even coming to a lower sphere, 'Ishqī's operetta *Rastākhiz*² is another example of the re-awakening of interest all over Īrān in her ancient glory, ancient kings, ancient religion and her great Prophet Zarathushtra³. Towards the end of the poem the soul of Zarathushtra has been invoked with all humility and reverence thus :

ای پیمبر آسمانی — زردشت
تو بر ایران و ایرانی ؛ پیک نهائی زردشت .
دست ما بدامن پاک تو — حقیقت یزدان ؛
سر پیوزش نهیم بر خاک تو — سعادت ایران⁴

¹ *Dūr-Numā-yi Īrān*, May number, 1929, Bombay.

² *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 21-30; *PPR.*, pp. 464-83.

³ *Rastākhiz* translated by I. J. S. Taraporewala, p. 2, Calcutta 1925.

⁴ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 28; *Sukhan*, i, 254.

O Heavenly Prophet Zoroaster !

Thou art a hidden messenger for Īrān and the Iranians,
O Zoroaster !

Thee we implore, O Truth of God !

We bow our heads down in apology at thy feet,
O Bliss of Īrān !

Farrukh of Khurāsān commends Zoroaster thus :

زردشت که نور را خدا میدانست
ز آتش همه چیز را بیا میدانست
امروزش بخار و برق ثابت کردند
کان زهر بارسی بجا میدانست¹

Zoroaster considered Light to be God ; he held that every thing emanated from Fire ;

To-day steam and electricity have proved that the Iranian Prophet was right.

In similar manner Zandukht Khānum of Shīrāz², sometime editress of the monthly *Dukhtarān-i Īrān*, ("The Daughters of Īrān"), Masrūr³ and many others have sung in praise of Zoroaster.

7. PATRIOTISM

After an age-long slumber the Iranians have regained their national soul. To-day waves of patriotism are running high throughout the length and breadth of Īrān. Modern poets do not get tired of writing poems on patriotism.

Of the different poets who have contributed

¹ *Iran League Quarterly*, ii, July, 1932, p. 63 (Persian Section).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63 (Persian Section).

³ *Mīhr*, i, 550.

poems on this theme, 'Ārif stands most prominent, though Adib-i Pīshāwarī gave the lead with the following charming lines contained in his *Qaiṣar-nāma*. Here "Mother Īrān" addresses her sons thus:

تو ای پروریده بخونِ دلم چگونہ ز مهر تو دل بگسَلَم
نداری ز بنِ هیچ باسِ مرا فراموش کردی سپاسِ مرا¹

O, thou (who wast) nurtured on my heart's blood, how
can I shatter my heart by divorcing my love for thee?

Thou hast absolutely no regard for me, thou hast forgotten the gratitude due to me.

'Ārif has produced many poems and songs (*taṣnīfs*) which echo his strong patriotic sentiment. The poems *Āzarbāyjān*², '*Ishq-i Āzar Ābādagān*³ ("Love for Āzarbāyjān"), '*Alī-jān*⁴, '*Yād-i Vāṭan*⁵ ("Thoughts of the Motherland"), '*Salṭanat-i Ḥusn*⁶ ("The Sovereignty of Beauty") and the songs, '*Charkh-i Kaj-raftār*⁷ ("The Crooked Sky"), '*Fārsī Gūy*⁸ ("Speak Persian") may be considered to be his master-pieces impregnated with the fervour of patriotism. In the poem *Love for Āzarbāyjān*, he declares:

ز استخوانِ نیاگانِ پاکِ ما این خاک
عجین شده است و مقدس تر از همه چیز است⁹

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 5; also *PPR.*, p. 7.

² *PPR.*, pp. 408-409.

³ *Ibid.*, 413-14.

⁴ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 260-66; *Sukhan*, i, 200-201.

⁵ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 184-85; *Sukhan*, i, 195.

⁶ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 193-94; *PPR.*, p. 424.

⁷ *Divān-i 'Ārif* (*Taṣnīf* Section), pp. 14-15; *Sukhan*, i, 202-203; *PPR.*, pp. 418-19.

⁸ *PPR.*, pp. 410-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

With the bones of our sacred ancestors, this soil has been kneaded and so 'tis holier than everything else.

Akhgar, the soldier-poet of modern Īrān, has composed no less than five beautiful poems on *Mihr-i Vāṭan*¹ ("Love of the Mother Country"), *Ṣāhib-i Khāna Bāsh*² ("Be the Owner of the House"), *Vāṭan u Shāh*³ ("The Mother Country and King"), *Gham-i Īrān*⁴ ("Love for Īrān"), and *Vāṭan Farūshī*⁵ ("Traitor to One's Country"). In his *Love of the Mother Country*, he reveals his patriotism in a martial spirit thus :

مو حافظ سر هست و تشون حافظ کشور
دل را به تشون وطن آویخته دارم
در راه دفاع وطن پاک شب و روز
بر روی عدو تیغ بر آهیکه دارم⁶

The hair is the protector of the head and the army the protector of the country ; I keep my heart clinging to the army of the country.

In defence of the sacred soil, night and day, I keep my sword drawn against the face of the foe.

'Ishqī in his 'operetta' *Rastākhīz*⁷ ("The Resurrection"), which has attained great popularity⁸, has voiced the aspirations of modern Īrān. The

¹ PPR., p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 21-30, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

⁸ Rendered into English by Dinshah J. Irani, v. PPR., pp. 464-83 and also by I. J. S. Taraporewala in Calcutta, 1925.

following lines are remarkably pathetic :

ای وای که ویرانه شد آن مملکت پر
کش روی زمین کشور خون خواندی و شمشیر

به نیروی دلیران مهین برق ایران
بد بلند در دروم و در چین بر فراز قصر سلاطین

ایست خرابه قبرستان نه ایران ما است !
ایست خرابه ایران نیست ایران بگاست ؟¹

Alas! that this ancient realm, which the world regarded as the land of chivalry and the sword, is ruined.

Through the valour of her mighty sons, the glorious banner of Irān.

Flew triumphant in Byzantium and China, over the palaces of kings.

This mouldering graveyard is not the Irān of ours,

This desolation is not Irān. O, where is Irān?

The poetess Nīm-tāj Khānum of Salmās composed a spirited poem when the northern provinces of Persia were invaded by the Turks during the Great War. Her father and other relatives were killed in the raid. The following are the concluding verses that faithfully describe her patriotic sentiment :

آزادگی بدستۀ شمشیر بسته اند
مردان همیشه تکیه خود را بدو کنند

تأون خفت است که باید شود ذلیل
هر ملتی که راحتی و عیش خو کنند¹

They have fastened Freedom to the hilt of the sword,
the heroes always rely upon it :

'Tis the law of nature that a nation must fall into
humiliation when it indulges in ease and luxury.

In short, many poets like Bahār,² Badr'u'z-Zamān³,
Husām-zāda⁴, Ashraf,⁵ Sayyid 'Alī Shāyigān⁶ and
Habib-i Yaghmūrī⁷ have produced charming poems
on the subject. The following lines from *Vāṭan*⁸
("Mother Country") of 'Abdu'l-Aẓīm Khān Qarīb
are certainly worth quoting :

ای وطن ای حب تو آئین من دوستیت کیش من و ذین من
دولت و اقبال تو پاینده باد نام بلندت بهمان زنده باد

8. WOMAN IN MODERN PERSIAN POETRY

Many of the characteristic features of Modern
Persian poetry are largely the result of the social,
cultural and political changes they reflect. It is
only natural then that a considerable portion of it is

¹ *Āyanda*, ii, 461.

² A Tribute to Sir Edward Grey (v. Browne's, PPMF., pp. 253-55;
Sukhan, i, 360-64) and *Damāsandīya* (v. *Āyanda*, ii, 486-87; *Sukhan*, i,
364-66).

³ *The Irān of Yesterday and the Irān of To-morrow* (*Āyanda*, i, 598-
600; *Sukhan*, i, 35-37).

⁴ His poem on *Pasargad* (*Sukhan*, i, 73-76).

⁵ Many poems in his *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, *Tihrān*, A.H. 1338 and *Jild-i*
Durum-i Nasim-i Shimal, Bombay, 1346.

⁶ *Irānshahr*, iii, 588-89.

⁷ *Sukhan*, i, 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 223.

concerned to develop the new attitude towards women which constitutes one of the most important changes in modern Iranian life. It reflects the weakening of the grip of religious tradition which formerly stood against the participation of women in the struggle of the present age. Modern Persian poetry not only registers these changes but in itself is a mighty factor towards popularizing these new ideas.

Her changed position.

Islām, no doubt, raised the position of women to a very great extent.

The Prophet of Islām secured to women rights which they had not otherwise possessed before. Thus their legal status was greatly elevated, but their social condition was not much ameliorated. In the lands of Islām, even until lately in Turkey and Īrān, she has been treated with indifference and neglect. She has been deemed inferior to man in intelligence and character. This depreciation of women has been voiced by many classical poets like Firdausi¹, Asadi², Niẓāmī of Ganja³ and Jāmī⁴. Though there

¹ Compare :

زن و ازدها هر دو در خاک به
جهان پاک از این هر دو ناپاک به

² Cf.

زن نیک در خانه مار است و گنج زن بد چو دیو است و مار شکنج

³ Niẓāmī says :

زن از پهلوی چپ گویند برخاست
نیاید هرگز از چپ راستی راست

⁴ Cf. Jāmī .

زن از پهلوی چپ شد آفریده کس از چپ راستی هرگز ندیده

are exceptions¹, yet, on the whole, the poets of Īrān have been uncharitable in their opinion about women. But modern poets have struck quite a different note to-day. They have urged their countrymen to elevate the social condition of women and to treat them better.

Ashraf of Gilān was, perhaps, the first poet who, in a poem entitled *Ahrāl-i Zanān-i 'Arab*, urged his countrymen to pay due regard to women as enjoined by the Prophet of Islām. Some of the verses run as :

گفت حکم الله اینست ای کرام باید از زنها نمائید احترام
زن اگر موجود در عالم نبود در زمانه يك نفر آدم نبود
است جنت زیر پای مادران جان فرزندان فدای مادران²

He (the Prophet) said : O noble men ! this is the order of Allāh, that ye should pay respect to women :

If woman were not in the world, there wouldn't have been a single man ever ;

Paradise is 'neath the feet of mothers³, let the lives of sons be sacrificed for mothers.

¹ Sa'di has praised women who are good-natured, pious and obedient :

زن خوب و فرمانبرو پارسا کند مرد درویش را پادشا

And according to Maktabi of Shīrāz a woman is a lasting wealth if she is pious and child-bearing :

زن پرهیزگار زاینده مرد را دولتست پاینده

² *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 300.

³ It refers to the tradition (احديث) :

الجنة تحت اقدام الأمهات

Yahyā Raihān in the first issue of his *Gul-i Zard*¹ dated *Shahbān* 27, 1336, (June 7, 1918), published the translation in verse of a French poem on "Mother". This indeed excited the poetic zeal of Īraj Mirzā to compose two poems on the same subject. The first was published in the *Dānish-kada*² dated June 22, 1918 and the second in the *Gul-i Zard*³ of July 21, 1918. The first poem which has gained considerable popularity⁴, begins thus:

گویند مرا چو زاد مادر پستان بدین گرفتن آموخت
شها بر گاهواره من بیدار شست و خفتن آموخت

¹ Issue No. 1, p. 2. The opening verses read:

که باشد کنز ایمان کودکی دارد بما الفت
که ما را میدهد در عالم ضعف طفولیت
همانا شیر شیرین را از آن پستان چون شکر
بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر

² Just below this verse translation of Raihān there appears the following quatrain by Bahār in which he indicts mothers for the wrongs they do to their children:

که ما را یاد داد از کودکی کذب و دغل بازی
فزون دزدی و قلاشی و حرص و حیل سازی
که طفلانرا کند از کودکی مجروح کور و کسر
بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر

³ No. 3, p. 139.

⁴ No. 4, p. 2, the first verse is:

پسر! رو قدر مادر دان که دایم کشد رنج پسر بیچاره مادر

⁵ The late Prof. Browne has quoted this poem in the dedication of the fourth volume of the *Literary History of Persia* to his mother. It has also appeared in various journals viz., *Gul-i Zard*, No. 6, p. 2; *Īrānshahr*, ii. 689; *Āyanda*, i. 666.

They say, when mother bore me, she taught me how
to suck her breast ;

At nights by my cradle she sat awake (and) taught me
how to sleep.

Vahid has a poem under the heading *Zan u Mard* in which he has repudiated the idea of the inferiority of women to men. He says :

زنست ار در جهان ناپاک اژدر
بتر از ماده اژدر اژدر نر¹

If woman is an impure dragon in the world,
Then the male dragon is worse than the female one.

Afsar holds men responsible and accuses them for the backwardness of women in the following words :

دست چپت از راست ندارد کم و کاست
میکرد اگر کار قوی بود چو راست
گر زن نبود چو مرد تقصیر شاست
از بهر زنان علم و هنر باید خواست²

Thy left hand is not inferior to the right ; had it worked,
it would have been as strong as the right ;

If woman is not like man, the fault is yours We should
demand education and art for women.

Her part in the
National Renaissance.

Despite the fact that the Prophet
of Islām made the acquisition
of knowledge incumbent on every
Muslim man and woman³, the cultural position of

¹ *Vide Armaghān*, ix, 74.

² *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 9; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

³ The tradition referred to is :

العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة

women has been deplorable throughout the Muslim world. The modern poets of Irān have played a successful part in making the people understand that female education is a question of vital importance for the advancement of their country. New social values of women have found expression in their poems.

Sayyid Ashrafū'd-Dīn inspires the Iranian girls to wake up from their lethargy and advises them to acquire knowledge in the following verses:

روز شامی عالم است ای دخترک بیدار شو

وقت بلوغ آدم است ای دخترک بیدار شو

انداز اروپا سر سر در علم و تحصیل مگر

زین افضل است و اندک است ای دخترک بیدار شو¹

It is a day for universal joy, wake up, O little girl!

It is an age for attaining perfection for humanity,
wake up, O little girl!

In Europe, from one end to another, in knowledge and attainment of art

Women are superior and more advanced: wake up,
O little girl!

Yahyā Dawlatabādī in his poem *Khāṭab bi Bāmarān* ("An address to ladies"), has elaborately discussed the necessity of female education. This poem is a *Tarjī-band* ("Return Tie") comprising seven strophes, each of eight distichs. Four verses

¹ *Khāṭab Bāmarān*, p. 73

O Girl, the mother of the new race ! O Girl, the cause
of the race to come !

Take example from the past and be a representative of
the future generation ;

Be thou a rose in the garden of knowledge and (thy)
sons warbling nightingales.

9. POLYGAMY

Modern poets of Īrān are fully aware that polygamy is opposed to the general progress of civilized society and culture. In Īrān this practice is looked upon with repugnance and, though its abolition is likely to affect the birth-rate, there is every reason to believe that, before long, this great social evil will be a thing of the past.

As to this burning question of polygamy, we have, first of all, the verdict of Afsar : One good wife is sufficient for a man. He maintains that polygamy is not really sanctioned in Islām. "It is true," says he, "that Islām allowed several wives¹, but it allows them with the stipulation that equal treatment shall be accorded to all the wives², which is practically an impossibility. Thus Islām rather restrains than encourages polygamy." He says :

يك زن خوب مرد را كافي است
 بيش از اين هم دگر نمي شايد
 كرخدا گفت با عدالت گفت
 وان ز دست تو بر نمي آيد³

¹ Cf. *Qur'ān*, iv : 3.

² *Ibid.*, iv : 128.

³ *Sukhān*, ii, 38-39 ; *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 7 ; *PPR.*, p. 95.

One good wife is sufficient for a man, (to marry) more than one is not proper ;

If God hath allowed it, He hath done so on condition of thy being equitable and it cannot be fulfilled by thee.

Pūr-i Dāvūd condemns polygamy as "the most grievous sin." In his poem written at Erlangen, on February 1, 1919, he describes the evils caused by it and emphatically pronounces that the present degraded condition of Irān is due largely to the polygamy practised by her sons. This poem comprises thirty-nine distichs, two of which, selected at random, read :

آنک دو زن را ز بهر خویش روا دید
تو بیت قرن . راست قاتل و دشمن
بیش از یک زن ز بهر مرد در این روز
روح وطن راست ریج و درد و زلیفن¹

He who permitted himself to take two wives, is a subverter of and an enemy to the culture of the age ;

More than one wife for a man in these days bring harm, grief and woe to the spirit of the country.

Although an orthodox Shi'ite and sometime student of Islāmic Jurisprudence at Najaf, Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn apprehended the evil effects of polygamy. In one of his poems, he expresses his candid opinion thus :

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 55 ; *Pourān-Dokht-Nāme*, p. 59.

دو زن در خانه آوردن خلاف است
 زنان را از خود آزدن خلاف است^۱

To bring in two wives is wrong, unwise is to displease women with oneself.

Rūhānī is another contemporary poet, perhaps the most humorous of all, to draw a pathetic picture of the physical and mental condition of a man with two wives, which he does in two poems, one entitled *Sar-i Mard-i Du-Zana*^۲ ("The Head of a Man with Two Wives") and the other *Tan-i Mard-i Du-Zana*^۳ ("The Body of a Man with Two Wives").

10. VEIL

The system of wearing the veil prevailed in Īrān till recently. When political consciousness dawned upon the minds of the people they could not shut their eyes to social evils which were detrimental to the progress of the country. The abolition of the veil which was enforced by an Imperial edict in 1936, was a bold step in the direction of social progress. To-day the removal of the veil is an accomplished fact. We shall now study the part played by the poets towards this end.

Īraj Mīrzā, a scion of the Qājār dynasty, threw his weight on the side of the removal of the veil. He burst forth impatiently :

^۱ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 286.

^۲ *Sukhan*. i, 125 ; *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 56.

^۳ *Sukhan*. i, 125-26 ; *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 55.

خدایا تا کی این مردان بخوابند
 زنان تا کی گرفتار حجابند
 مگر زن در میان ما بشر نیست
 مگر در زن تمیز خیر و شر نیست¹

O Lord! how long will the nation remain insensible,
 how long will women remain in the clutches of the
 veil?

Are women not human amongst us, or is there in
 women no power of distinction between good and
 evil?

The cause of the emancipation of women found
 an ardent supporter in the young poet 'Ishqī. He
 concluded his famous poem *Kafan-i Siyāh* ("The
 Black Shroud") with the following stirring lines:

با من از يك دو سه گوینده هم آواز شود
 کم کم این زمزمه در جامعه آغاز شود
 با همین زمزمه ها روی زنان باز شود
 زن کند جامه شرم آرد و سرافراز شود
 لذت از زندگی جمعیت احراز شود

ورنه تا زن به کفن سربرده نیمی از ملت ایران مرده²

If some two or three patriots raise their voices in unison
 with me,

Gradually this movement will be set afoot in the
 country,

¹ *Dīvān-i Īraj*, part ii, p. 12; *Sukhan*, i, 16.

² *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 102; *Īrān League Quarterly*, i, p. 205.

By their demand the faces of women will be unveiled,
 Women will take off the disgraceful dress and will
 become exalted,
 Pleasure will be derived from the social life,
 Else, so long as women hide their heads in this shroud
 One half of the Iranian nation remains dead.

'Ishqī's cry was not a cry in the wilderness. It found support from many eminent poets.

The poet Pizhmān raised his voice against the veil and said that it was sanctioned neither by religion nor by law or wisdom, and if a body of women had the courage, they might easily tear away the veil. He says :

قانون و دین و عقل و تمدن باتفاق
 قائل بدفع پیچه و بر رفع چادرند
 آیا بود که دسته از پاکدامنان
 همت کنند و پرده اوهام بر درند¹

Law, religion, wisdom and civilization with one accord
 justify the removal of pīcha² and mantle ;

Would that a group of chaste ones took courage and
 tore asunder the veil of superstition.

In like manner Bahār³, Ḥusām-zāda⁴, Zainu'l-
 'Ābidīn Ḥikmat poetically surnamed *Fariḥ*⁵, *Shah-*

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 102 ; also Pizhmān's *Bihtarīn Ash'ār*, p. 74.

² A substitute for the veil made of black horsehair about nine inches square in size, worn by Iranian women over the forehead to hide or expose their faces at will.

³ *Gulhāy-i Adab*, p. 19.

⁴ *Sukhan*. i, 76-77.

⁵ *Īrānshahr*, ii, 660-65.

riyār¹, 'Ārif², Lāhūtī³ and others were not slow in joining the movement. They considered it regrettable that the fair sex should be secluded while the rest of the world was free. They exhorted women to cast away the veil from their faces.

11. SPEED AND TRANSPORT

One of the great changes of our time is the general acceleration of the rhythm of life. In its abstract form, this idea is perhaps inaccessible to expression in poetry, but the new means of rapid communication, such as railways, motor-cars and aeroplanes have greatly struck Iranian poets by their novelty⁴.

Rūhānī has a poem of fifteen verses in which he has given an enigmatic description of a bicycle (Du-Charkha) beginning thus:

مرکبی دارم و این طرّفه که باشد خود رو
نه علف خواهد و نه یونجه و نه کاه و نه جو⁵

I've a vehicle and 'tis strange that it is self-moving, it requires no fodder, no hay, no grass and no barley.

Vahīd⁶, Ḥusām-zāda⁷ and Nāẓir-zāda have com-

¹ *Divān-i Shahrīyār*, Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar), pp. 29-30; *Sukhan*, ii, 256.

² *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 196-97. Berlin, 1924; *Gulhāy-i Adab*, p. 19; PPR., pp. 425-27.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 314; *La'āliyy-i Lāhūtī*, p. 18, Iṣtānbūl.

⁴ George Marr wrote an article on this subject, which was published in the *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes* V. pp. 221-34.

⁵ *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 54; *Sukhan*, i, 127.

⁶ *Armaghān*, ix, p. 197; Marr's article, p. 233. Vahīd has another poem on *Motor-car*, vide *Armaghān*, vii, p. 35.

⁷ Marr's article, p. 231.

posed poems on the 'Motor-car' (*Khud-Raw*). Marr in his article on *Contemporary Means of Transport* has quoted the poems of Vahīd and Ḥusām-zāda. The first verse of the poem *Automobile* (*Utūmubīl*) by Nāzīr-zāda is given below as a specimen :

کردم سفر با مرکبی در ره سپردن بی بدل
اسبان تازی از دوش مانند چون خر در وحل¹

I journeyed by a conveyance, unique for travelling ;
The Arabian horses, compared to its speed, are like
asses (entangled) in a quagmire.

Badī'uz-Zamān Furūzānfar wrote a *qaṣīda*² entitled *Rāh-i Āhan* ("The Railway"). It was first published in the *Āyanda* and has also been incorporated in my *Sukhanvarān*. The portion of the *qaṣīda* which deals with the Railway begins with :

دیدم دو خط از آهن کشیده
ز دو سو راست چون خطهای مسطر³

I saw two lines of iron extending both ways as straight
as the lines drawn with a ruler.

Afsar knowing how the railways play an important part in the economic development of a country and in affording an easy communication between different countries and different parts of the same

¹ *Namakdān*, third year, No. 4, p. 64 and No. 5, pp. 12-13.

² In metre and style it is similar to the well-known *qaṣīda* of *Minūchihri* which opens thus :

شبى گيسو فرو هشته بدامن پلاستى معاجر و قيريشى گرز

—v. Kazimirski's *Menoutchehri*, pp. ۸۳-۸۱.

³ *Āyanda*, i, pp. 26-27; Marr's art., pp. 224-25; *PPR.*, pp. 184-86; *Sukhan*, i, 33-34.

country, emphatically asks the Iranians to construct them:

ای ایرانی بره بانی تا کی؟
 راه چو پل صراط کی گردد طی؟
 گر خون نشود روان تن افتد از کار
 تروت خون است و راه آهن رک و پی¹

O Iranians! how long will you lag behind? When will the road like the Bridge of Hell be traversed?

If the blood be not in circulation, the body stops its work; wealth is blood and the railways the veins and tendons.

The aeroplane (*Ṭayyāra*) has attracted the attention of several poets who have contributed a good many poems on it. Marr in his above mentioned article, has quoted three poems as specimens by three poets, viz., Muḥammad Hādī of Bīrjand, Abu'l-Qāsim Shahīdī and Muḥammad Kāzīm-i Ṭīhrānīyān. Vahīd describes the aeroplane in the following words:

آن سلیمانی بساط از علم شد گردون نورد
 تر فسون دیو و دد یا جادوی جن و پری
 هان بین طیاره را ایدون که از نیروی علم
 زین به پشت باد بر بسته چو ابر آوری²

Through science and not through the enchantment of demons and ghosts³ or the sorcery of genii and fairies this carpet of Solomon traverses the sky;

¹ *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 22; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

² *Armaghān*, vii, 34.

³ Literally, a beast of prey or wild beast.

Lo! the aeroplane, now by the power of science hath
saddled the back of the wind like the clouds of the
month of Āzar¹.

The best poem on the aeroplane so far produced
in Persian is the *qaṣīda* on "The Great War and the
Aeroplane" by Adīb of Piṣhāwar. Full of classicism
as the *qaṣīda* is, it is charming and reminds us of
Qā'ānī. The opening verse reads:

روئیه شاعینا نگر با آتشین جنگالها
کسترده اندر باختر پرغای کین و بالها²

Lo! the brazen falcon with fiery talons, hath spread
in the West the wings and feathers of rancour.

Vahīd seems so far to be the only poet to have
written a short stanza on the submarine (*Gharvāṣa*)
It begins thus:

غواصه جون نهنگی روئین تن
دریا نورد و صاعقه جولانست³

The submarine, like unto a brazen-bodied crocodile, is
the traverser of seas, quick as lightning.

Themes like these would seem too technical and
matter-of-fact for poetry, but what appealed to the
imagination was the spectacular character of the new
contrivances which seemed to realize the dreams of
old legends and fairy tales about King Kay-Qubād's
aerial flight and King Solomon's magic carpet.

¹ Āzar is the Syrian name for the month of March and should not be
confounded with Āzar, the 9th month of the Persian year.

² *Divān-i Adīb-i Piṣhāwarī*, p. 8.

³ *Armaghān*, viii, 98.

VII

CONCLUSION

The end of classicism
and its later survival.

There may be some difference of opinion as to the time when the classical period of Persian poetry ended and the modern period began. Browne strongly refutes the view that Jāmī was the 'last great classical poet of Persia'¹. Some more radically-minded scholars close their list of classical poets with Ḥāfiz. But this much is certain that the long and brilliant rule of the Ṣafavids (A.D. 1502-1736) did not produce any great poet. On the other hand, the post-Ṣafavid period, in spite of its struggles and revolutions, was not devoid of talents². The earlier period of the Qājārs produced some first-rate technicians like Qā'ānī and Yaghmā who had nothing very original to say but maintained nevertheless the highest standards of traditional skill.

The late beginning
of Modern Persian
poetry.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a period of literary revolution for the modern languages

¹ See his lecture on the *Literature of Persia* delivered on April 26, 1912, before the Persia Society of London (published for the Society by John Hoeg, pp. 18-19); also his *Literary History of Persia*, iii, 435 and *PPMP.*, (The Translator's Preface), p. xv.

² See the anthologies *Taḏkiratu'l-Mu'āṣirīn* (contained in the *Kulliyāt* lithographed at Cawnpore, A.D. 1893), *Riḏāzu'sh-Shu'arā* (see Rieu's

of the East in general owing to the impact of Western arts and sciences. New movements were started in Turkish, Arabic, Urdū, Bengali and other modern languages and before long a considerable amount of poetic compositions, known as *Modern Poetry*, saturated with the spirit of the new age, came into being. Persian could not remain unaffected by the tendencies of the time, though its case was somewhat special. The changes in Īrān came rather late and were only of a preliminary character. Even now, new elements while being fully manifest in the language, still require some time before they can attain an appreciable degree of perfection.

In Turkish the modern period begins with Ziyā Pasha¹, Shināsī Effendi² and Nāmiq Kemāl Bey³. About this time Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād⁴ and Altāf Ḥusayn, poetically surnamed Ḥālī⁵, were engaged in starting a new movement in Urdū. The 'Modern Poetry' of Īrān hardly began before the twentieth century. It was born in the midst of political crises and so its major portion bears the trace of such an origin.

Causes of delay and
its consequences.

In comparison with Turkey and
India, the progress of education in

Persian Catalogue, p. 651), *Ātash-Kada* (lithographed at Bombay, A.H. 1277) and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣaḥā* (lithographed at Tīhrān, A.H. 1295).

¹ b. A.H. 1241/A.D. 1825-26.

² b. A.H. 1242/A.D. 1826-27.

³ b. A.H. 1257/A.D. 1841-42.

⁴ d. Jānuary 22, 1910.

⁵ b. A.D. 1837 and d. 1914.

Īrān was rather slow and so new elements could not find a congenial atmosphere for a considerable time. On the other hand, classical tradition in Turkish and Urdū, however strong and manifest, had not yet reached maturity, when it was interrupted by the intrusion of new elements. On the contrary, Persian letters during the past millennium had attained very high stages of perfection and classicism, and this solid fortress could not be stormed by the Western influences without sufficient preparation. In this respect the parallel of Arabic poetry, supported by a long and solid tradition, is illuminating. The Arabs of the Mediterranean region had no less access to the West than Turkey and India, and yet their poetry long resisted all forces of westernization and, even when the latter came, the process of change was too slow. To-day amongst the numerous poets of Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq, there are but a few who have been successful in finding an adequate Arabic form for the moulding of new thoughts and ideas. Even in the best cases elegance and grace are not the usual companions of novelty. The case of Persian is very similar to what we find in the field of Arabic literature.

The natural consequences of the belated infiltration of modern elements into Persian are :

1. Persian has not reached the zenith of its new evolution.
2. The latest evolution may have been too hasty, as is best shown by the too easy

incorporation of loan-words, entitled only to an ephemeral existence.

Characteristics of
Modern Persian
poetry.

If from the question of standards, we now turn our attention to contents and forms, we must admit that the new tendencies have revolutionized Persian poetry. This change is the result of the new order of things which has been brought into existence since the establishment of the Constitution and owes a good deal to the influence of Western arts and sciences.

The apostles of the modern movement have enlarged the sphere of poetry by introducing new themes into it. New fields of thought have been opened up. Society is confronted with new questions. The interests of life—political, social, religious, economic and scientific—have been enormously widened.

The new movement has liberated Persian poetry from the fetters of conventionalism and artificiality. There is now a clear departure from the beaten track of classical poetry and no return to the previous condition is imaginable. The main characteristics of modern Persian poetry may conveniently be summed up as follows :—

1. The ornate and artificial style has given place to a simple and natural diction ; words are made to follow thoughts and not thoughts to follow words.
2. There is a personal note in the poems and the poets seem to have more individuality.

3. Modern poetry shows considerable originality in themes which now cover wider fields of human interests.
4. There are poems of all kinds, reflective, descriptive, didactic, historical, political, patriotic and amatory.
5. Amatory poems are less common. Even if retained as a verse-form, the *ghazals* seldom sing of musky ringlets and downs on the cheeks of the beloved but, unlike their older prototypes, analyse and delineate the thoughts and feelings of men.
6. Nature, which formerly served only as a background of human interests, is now wooed for her own sake, with the result that *Shab-i Mahtāb*¹ ("A Moonlit Night"), *Shihāb*² ("A Shooting Star"), *Akhhbār-i Bāgh*³ ("News from the Garden"), *Subhāna-i Shā'ir*⁴ ("The Poet's Breakfast"), *Banafsha*⁵ ("The Violet"), *Yak Sitāra*⁶ ("A Star"), *Bahār*⁷ ("Spring"), *Khi-zāniyya*⁸ ("Autumn"), *Subh*⁹ ("The Morn"), *Shab*¹⁰ ("The Night") and

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 82-83; ii, 15-19; *PPR.*, pp. 97-98; *Āyanda*, i, 80-81.

² *PPR.*, pp. 303-4.

³ *Sukhan*. i, 97-98.

⁴ *PPR.*, pp. 289-90.

⁵ *Sukhan*. ii, 195-97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 356-57.

⁷ *PPR.*, pp. 284-85 and 649-50.

⁸ *Sukhan*. ii, 411-13.

⁹ *PPR.*, p. 678.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 679-80.

the like form themes of poetry.

7. Less exclusively personal feelings have become conspicuous in poetry, which turns its attention to the life of the community in its political, social and economic aspects.
8. Thus there is no longer a complete rupture between the social conditions and earthly preoccupations of the poets and their soarings into abstract regions of Platonic love, the present bards being sons of their own time, expressing in poetry what agitates their souls, and many of them proving the sincerity of their strivings and convictions by personal sufferings, nay, by their blood.

Shortcomings of
modern poetry.

All, however, is not poetry because it is presented in verse and all is not prose because it is not put in verse. There are many poems that may be rightly termed versified prose, without any element of poetry in them. Consider, for instance, the quatrain entitled *Andarz*¹ ("An Advice") from the pen of so distinguished a poet as *Shūrīda* and note what a poor thing it is when compared with a quatrain of 'Umar *Khayyām*. The same holds true of *Yahyá's Andarz bi Javānān*² ("An Advice to Youths").

There are many poems that read as high-sounding moral sermons delivered from a pulpit. The poems

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 188; *PPR.*, p. 356.

² *PPR.*, p. 675.

entitled *Pāk Shau*¹ ("Be Pure") by Vahīd, *Mihr Jūy*² ("Be Kind") by Aurang, *Khidmat-i Khalq*³ ("Service to Humanity") by Akhgar, *Yak Zan bas ast*⁴ ("One wife is sufficient") by Afsar are palpably of this kind.

There are again several poems that read as fiery orations of Demosthenes in a crowded forum. Akhgar's *Vaṭan Furūshī*⁵ ("Traitor to One's Country"), Badi'uz-Zamān's *Īrān-i Dīrūz—Īrān-i Fardā*⁶ ("Īrān of Yesterday and Īrān of To-morrow") and *Kūshish*⁷ ("Effort"), Husām-zāda's *Surūd-i Pisrān*⁸ ("A Song for Boy Scouts"), Dānish of Khurāsān's *Hadiyya bi Dukhtarān-i Imrūz u Mādarān i Fardā*⁹ ("A Gift to the Daughters of To-day who are mothers of To-morrow"), Bīnīsh's qaṣīda *Zīr-i bār-i Zulm na-bāyad raft*¹⁰ ("One must not submit to oppression") etc. are pieces that represent this class.

The poets are occasionally found to be on war-path, engaged in wordy fights. Thus engaged, their verses are full of invectives, and their language becomes at times repugnant and provocative. While they indulge in wrangling phrases, they seem to

¹ PPR., pp. 662-63

² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Sukhan.* ii, 38-39; PPR., p. 95

⁵ PPR., v. 74

⁶ *Sukhan.* i, 35-37; PPR., pp. 178j-180.

⁷ *Sukhan.* i, 37; PPR., p. 186

⁸ PPR., p. 230.

⁹ *Sukhan.* ii, 135-39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 82-86

descend at once from a sublime height to a low level of humanity. You may even agree to call it a poetic art, at least a usage-sanctioned practice serving to indicate that the poets who indulge in it are after all just human, or that they are sometimes just like children seeking to enjoy a good fun at the cost of the irritable amongst them. Īraj Mīrzā's '*Ārif-nāma*¹' and '*Ishqī*'s satire² on Vahīd-i Dastagardī are the best specimens of this class of provocative poems.

Want of blank verse. No effort seems to have been made by the poets of Īrān in the direction of blank verse. Its introduction is long overdue. If started, it may evoke a new interest and create a diversion for those habituated to rhyme.

The song of the dawn.

Modern Persian poetry is essentially the song of the dawn. If it also sings a song of the night, the night of which it sings is not a long and gloomy one. The night of which it speaks is but a short period of sleep and well earned rest after the day's joyful work, after a pleasant evening and a hearty dinner. Thus Yaḥyā holds the picture of the Night (*Shab*³) and of the Morn (*Ṣubḥ*⁴) before the children of Īrān.

This optimistic note, the robust message of life and hope and the glimpses of brighter days ahead at

¹ *Divān-i Īraj*, pt. ii, pp. 4-52, Tīhrān, A.H. 1307 (Solar); *Sukhan*, i, 14-21.

² *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 178-82.

³ *PPR.*, pp. 679-80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 678.

once differentiate the modern poetry from the earlier or classical. The romantic agony is here with occasional complaints against the world, life, society and existence. But the painful features of nature or of life are compared to the thorns of rose. If the thorn pricks the finger on account of wrong handling, it is no reason to find fault with the thorn or the garden in which the rose blooms. When Yaḥyā feels disappointed to find the thorn at the foot of every rose, Bahār, with his greater wisdom and more philosophic insight, writes this line as if to chastize one who takes such a wrong view of nature and of human life :

چنده گل ار خارش انگشت خست
 گنه بر چنده است و خار نیست¹

If a thorn pricks the finger of one who plucks the rose,
 the fault is the plucker's and not of the thorn.

The mission of
 poetry.

Modern poetry has indeed been identified with the entire life movement of the country, with continual endeavour to adapt itself to as well as to create and mould the whole environment, natural, social and cultural, for the progressive realization of the higher ends of existence as a free individual and as a free people.

Pizhmān has characteristically said that the soul of a poet, like a blooming bud, yearns to smile in the universe; it gets happy at the joy of nature, as it

¹ PPR., p. 212.

is like the roses of the garden¹.

With Adīb of Pīshāwar poetry is like the cow of Moses² meant for raising the dead ones of one's country, like the breath of Jesus which stirs up the soul in a corpse³, like a lancet with sharp diamond edge to take out the cold and clotted blood from the sluggish vein, like Gabriel to blow into human body the breath of ardent sympathy and like a nurse gives milk to the child to develop its stature⁴.

Sarmad would require poetry to be the voice of the spirit of the age in which he lives⁵.

To Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār, poetry is like the lute made by the hand of God on the Day of Creation. Its strings are made of the tresses of the *houris*. It is attuned with the light of Heaven. Its tune acts as a guide to those who go astray and its wailing is a help to the helpless. If properly handled, it increases love and lessens tyranny. Its sound is the voice of God, and whosoever listens to it, he listens to God. Many have desecrated it by playing improper tune for selfish ends. The wrong handling of it has only created chaos and confusion, contests and clashes. The right man to handle it properly and perfectly is one who can produce the eternal tune of universal love and peace to mankind. In other words, the

¹ *Sukhan*, ii, 100.

² *Vide Qur.* ii, 67-71.

³ *Qur.*, iii, 43 ; v, 109.

⁴ *PPR.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵ *Sukhan*, ii, 206.

mission of poetry is to convey the message of the great love revealing nothing but affection of the divine heart out of which God Almighty created all things and beings¹.

Message of modern poetry.

There cannot be any greater message of poetry than what is sought to be conveyed through 'Ishqī's *Rastākhīz*. Righteousness is extolled as the highest principle of action. The duty of a rising and powerful nation should be to bring peace and happiness to the whole world and to see that none remains in bondage and all live freely their lives. The modern poets discover the permanent basis of human understanding, concord and happiness in the fundamental unity of all faiths, in the commonness of the object of worship, and in the oneness of the goal of all the higher human aspirations. The belief broadbased on the monotheistic conception of God can tolerate and unify the diverse modes of worship, of thinking and of action.

The doctrine of transcendence and immanence, monism and dualism, theism and atheism, pantheism and monotheism, materialism and spiritualism are all sought to be harmonized in Īzādī's poem *Man Kīyyam*² ("Who am I?").

Pūr-i Dāvūd describes the attributes of God after Islām and Zoroastrianism³. Akhgar reflects on

¹ *Sukhan.*, i, 396-98.

² *PPR.*, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 237-38.

the Life of Man ('Umr-i Insān¹) in the manner of a Buddhist thinker, Sālār proposes to seek Truth in the manner of Maṣṣūr though he may have to go to the gallows like the Messiah². Īzādī represents God in the manner of the *Bhagavadgītā* and Spinoza³. Nizām-i Vafā talks of Pure Love ('*Ishq-i Pāk*) in the manner of Plato and the Indian Vaishṇava⁴. Aurang would seem to have a unique conception of love as a principle more appealing to reason and imagination than anything earlier, whether found in Sufism or in the Upanishads or in Plato⁵. There are again poets who have said golden words of moral wisdom in the manner of Solomon and Confucius. Thus scrutinized, the modern poetry of Īrān may be shown to strike a note of harmony of all great thoughts and wisdom of the world.

Love, heroism and pathos in the political and patriotic poems.

The desire for a thorough re-generation of the country and the people is the most sincere and laudable of human desires. The love for Īrān is enlivened by a profound patriotic sentiment. Here love assumes the form of filial affection for the mother. This love is sought to be raised to the pedestal of the love of God Almighty.

¹ PPR., p. 72.

² *Ib.*, p. 313F.

³ *Ib.*, p. 178.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 607 and 608-9.

⁵ See his poem *Langar-i 'Ishq* ("The Anchor of Love") in the PPR., pp. 108-9.

One may feel that the modern poets have just transferred one's feeling for one's mother towards Irān. The poetic reflections may be shown to have centred mainly round these two similes: (a) that of the mother and the son, and (b) that of the house and the owner. Īraj Mīrzā has written two poems, one entitled *Mādar*¹ ("Mother"), and the other, *Qalb-i Mādar*² ("A mother's heart"). In the first named poem, the poet wants to tell us that our very existence is all due to the mother, and in the second he pathetically brings out the eternal wish of the mother's heart for the welfare of the son. The same is similarly brought out by Yahyā in his poem *Mihr-i Mādar*³ ("Mother's Love"). Īraj puts the wish into the mouth of the blood-drenched heart of a mother after she was cruelly butchered by her son at the instigation of his sweetheart, while Yahyā puts the same in the mouth of a mother after she was thrown down into a deep well by her thoughtless son. The device followed in the two poems is that of a fabler. But whereas Æsop's fables are noted for their perspicuity, Īraj's poem is annoying on account of details of a description of how the mother was killed by the son and her bleeding heart was taken out to avenge the cause of a woman he loved. The same remark in a milder degree is applicable to the poem of Yahyā. Quite the reverse

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 25; *PPR*, pp. 134-35; *Irānshahr*, ii, 689.

² *Sukhan*, i, 24-25; *PPR*, pp. 124-26; *Armaghān*, v, 596-97.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 417-18; *PPR*, pp. 666D-67

is the case with the patriotic stanzas in which the poets inspire their countrymen either to avenge the cause or guard the honour of the 'motherland'. The simile of the house and the owner, employed to argue the case forcibly in favour of '*Īrān for the Iranians*' derives its significance from a very natural feeling of joy one feels in one's own hearth and home. This is beautifully delineated by Rashīd-i Yāsīmī in his poem '*Ishq-i Khānavāda*¹' ("Love for the Home"), which reads very much like the English poem 'Home, Sweet Home!'

The heroism upheld by the poets is of the noblest kind; it is the valour and courage displayed by such heroes of the past as Rustam and Hurmuzān in defence of their country against the inroads of foreign powers. In it the poets strike a most sincere note.

In the patriotic stanzas deep pathos finds its expression over the irony of fate. Many of them savour of sarcasm, but the seriousness of purpose underlies even a poem, which is apparently a light-hearted one. There is no better example of this than the poem entitled *Qūqūliqū*² ("Cock-a-doodle-do!")

A good fund of
humour.

Like the French, the people of
Īrān have a good fund of humour
in them. There is a comic weekly *Ummīd* (now

¹ PPR., pp. 298-300.

² PPMP., pp. 229-30.

defunct) published humorous poems generally meant to amuse and instruct but not to offend. Rūḥānī and Bīnīsh may be mentioned as two modern poets noted for their humorous stanzas. Other poets, too, have here and there humorous poems to their credit. Pun or play upon words serves as usual literary instrument of humour. The element of humour is present also in the amorous and patriotic poems, though in them it tends to be ironical in places.

Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'ī observes about his contemporary Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān poetically surnamed Masrūr, a contemporary poet :

در دهر بهر که بنگری رنجور است
از خرمی و نشاط و شادی دور است
مسرور در این جهان یکی را دیدم
آن هم نه خودش تخلص مسرور است¹

In this world any one whom I see is sad and is far from happiness, jollity and gaiety

I found only one 'Masrūr' (happy) in this world but not he himself rather his pen-name is such.

Rūḥānī criticizes the Members of the *Majlis*, saying :

کر کار به مجلس و کلام کردند در آخر کار کار حاتم کردند
با چرخ و اسب و گاؤ را بخشیدند آسایش نوع خود فراهم کردند²

If the Members of the Parliament have done little work they have at length done the work of the generous Ḥātim³,

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 329 foot-note, n. 1.

² *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūḥānī*, p. 74, *Sukhan*. i, 122.

³ Name of a man of the Arabian tribe Ṭā'iy, proverbial for his liberality.

They have repealed the taxes on asses, horses and cows,
they have actually provided ease for their own kind.

Witticism.

Some of the poems display a good
deal of witticism. Furāt in his poem

Mah-i bī-mihr, ("The Unkind Moon") records :

گفت با شیخ ظریفی که ز شیطان بگریز
گفت هر سوی گریزان شده شیطان از من¹

A witty man said to a priest, "Avoid Satan" ;

"Satan is avoiding me at every turn", said the priest.

In some of the poem the wit displayed is altogether ludicrous, if not offensive. Spenta, for instance, writes :

فرموده مسیح سرور اهل یقین ضربت زند ارکسی برویت از کین
بنمای دگر سوی رخت از سر مهر ایکاش برای بوسه بود حکم چنین²

Jesus, the leader of the faithful, said, "Should a person
through spite smite thee on one cheek ;

"Turn with gentleness the other cheek to him";
Would to God such a command were given for a kiss
too !

Taṣnīf and *Surūd*.

The *taṣnīf* (chanson) has also been considerably gaining in popularity ever since the movement for the Constitution began. On account of its topical character, simplicity of style and adaptability to music, this form of composition has played an important part in rousing public consciousness. But as most of the composi-

¹ PPR., pp. 508-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322.

tions of this class, which are polemic in character and are written in different dialects, refer to some local incidents or interest of ephemeral nature, they rapidly pass into oblivion. The *surūd* ("song"), too, like the *taṣnīf* has become fairly popular in these days. It has served as a fitting vehicle for patriotic and national songs. There is, however, much scope for the improvement of these classes of composition provided the poets having an ear for music take an interest in them. For the most part, they are now composed by poets who have no ear for music or by composers who are not well-versed in the art of poetry.

Modern poets as compared with the classical masters.

The modern period with all its redeeming features and drawbacks is a period of Romanticism in the poetry of Īrān. Like the Romantic movement in English literature, it is essentially a production of the freedom of thought. If, as openly admitted by modern poets, Firdausī is the inspirer of valour and courage, Rūdakī of songs and music, 'Umar Khayyām of courage of conviction, bold expression of thought, and drunkenness of human spirit, Sā'dī of wisdom and insatiable thirst for knowledge and broadening of human outlook, and Ḥāfiẓ of mysticism and love of God, are we to understand that the modern poets have remained all spellbound by the greatness and grandeur of the masters of the past and their writings have in no respects excelled

the classical master-pieces ?

Granted that among the modern poets none has produced till now a grand national epic of the volume and size of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*. But who can deny that the whole of the *Shāhnāma* has been admirably reproduced, in substance and quality, by many a poet of the present age ? The causes, national or other, advocated by Firdausī, have all been advocated by the modern poets. The noble tradition of ancient kings and dynasties of Īrān, the valour and courage of Rustam and Hurmuzān and the veneration for the religion of Zoroaster and the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrians, etc. are all strongly upheld in modern poetry and songs. The political and patriotic poems of Pūr-i Dāvūd, almost all without exception, read as nothing but the great *Shāhnāma* put in a nut-shell with a broader national outlook, a much larger conception of national duties and responsibilities and a robust hope for the future of the country. The materials of 'Ishqī's famous 'operetta' *Rastākhīz* are all drawn from the great *Shāhnāma*. Here they are presented altogether in a new literary form serving as a suitable garb for the new-born national spirit and consciousness. Whereas Firdausī narrated the tales of the ancient kings only to see them vanish or buried in the dark gloom of the long night which was to come over the history of Īrān, 'Ishqī's *Rastākhīz* is intended to bring all of them back to life again and to see their noble spirit permeate the whole nation. Whereas

Firdausī concluded his *Shāhnāma* with the despair and deep sigh of a dying nation, 'Ishqī has brought his 'operetta' to a close with the noblest of human desires and a hopeful message of peace and prosperity, put in the mouth of Zoroaster :

O East, arise and put the West to shame !

Unless the East sleeps, how can the Sun of the West rise ? The West woke up only when the East went to sleep !

I hope that when the East will gain power, she will use her strength to bring peace to the world.

And not, like the West she will drive men from place to place, nor will she insult humanity and civilization ; Henceforth let no one in bondage be ; let everyone live his life and be free¹.

¹ *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 29 ; *PPR.*, p. 480.

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Bahār ed. by Yūsuf-i I'tiṣāmī for two years, A.H. 1338-40.

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Īrān League Quarterly—an official organ of the Īrān League, Bombay, started in 1930.

Īrānshahr ed. by Ḥusayn Kāẓim-zāda—an entirely literary and scientific monthly review of more popular character than the *Kāva* started from Berlin in 1922 continued till 1927.

Kānūn-i Shu'arā started by Ḥusayn Muṭī'ī from Tīhrān in A.H. 1313 (solar)—entirely devoted

to present-day poetry of Irān continued for three years.

Kāva (New Series) 1920-21 ed. by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda, a monthly of highly literary and critical value started from Berlin.

Mihār ed. by Majid-i Mu'aqqir, the editor of the daily *Irān*,—one of the best monthly magazines till now published from Tīhrān.

Namakdān ed. by 'Abdu'l Ḥusayn Khān Āyatī, Tīhrān now defunct.

Nasīm-i Shīmāl ed. by Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn, started from Rašt in A.H. 1325 and continued till 1329—one of the best literary papers containing notable poems both serious and satirical.

Naw Bahār ed. by Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār, A.H. 1301 (solar)—a literary and political weekly.

Šūr-i Isrāfīl—a weekly paper edited by Mirzā Jahāngīr Khān of Shīrāz, started in 1907, chiefly known for its comical and satirical column '*Charand Parand*' ("Charivari") contributed by 'Alī Akbar Khān Dīkhbudā (Dakhaw), first appeared May 30th, 1907 and was brought to an end on June 20th, 1908.

Ta'lim u Tarbiyyat (now *Āmūzish u Parvarish*) a monthly official organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Irān, started in A.H. 1304 (solar) under the direction and supervision of 'Alī Aṣghar Khān Hikmat.

Ummūd, founded by Āqā-yi Ittīhād in A.H. 1308 (solar) from Tīhrān.

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